

THE  
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /

VOLUME XLI

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## PREFACE

THIS part, like XXXVI and XXXVIII, is the work of many scholars. Their individual contributions may be seen in the Table of Papyri. The volume is a mixed one containing both new and known classical texts (2943-2948) and one theological text (2949). Among the documents (2950-2998) particular attention should be called to a valuable group of Latin documents (2950-2953) and a collection of eleven requests which throw light on the procedure adopted for refunding individuals who have been required to furnish corn to the government for purchase (2958-2968). Some of the private documents and private letters were first studied in summer schools held in the United States under the auspices of the American Society of Papyrologists.

The General Editors would like to thank all scholars on whose wisdom and specialized knowledge they have drawn for the elucidation of particular difficulties. They would also like to thank Dr M. W. Haslam for making the Indexes and Mr W. E. H. Cockle, Drs M. Weinstein and S. Stephens for help with the proofs.

This is the first part in the series to be printed by the Cambridge University Printing House and we should like to express our appreciation of the attention given to the manuscript and the illustrations by Mr Brooke Crutchley, the University Printer, and in particular by Mr Roger Coleman and Mr M. E. Brown.

P. J. PARSONS  
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*General Editors of the  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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GMB = G. M. Browne

GMC = G. M. Cohen

RAC = R. A. Coles

EC = E. Constantinides

JFC = J. F. Callender

SFJ = S. F. Johanson

DJ = D. Jordan

EL = E. Lobel

JRR = J. R. Rea

JCS = J. C. Shelton

MJS = Mrs M. J. Sherman

AT = A. Tripolitis

DAT = D. A. Traill

EGT = E. G. Turner

MEW = M. E. Weinstein

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXVIII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in heavy type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. Lastly, when dimensions of texts are given, the breadth is placed first, the height second.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON THE TERMS  
'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK'  
AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of a papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

I. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS

2943. MENANDER, *Samia*

No inventory number                      6.3 × 14.0 cm.                      Late second or early third century

This fragment of the *Samia* has been classed as a new classical text, since no part of the evidence it offers is carried by any other witness. The papyrus consists of parts of two columns from the top of a roll, and written on its back. The hand is of fair size, upright and quickly written; letters are usually separately formed, but α and ε ligature with following ι, and c may be turned over. There is an occasional high stop. Changes of person are marked by paragraphus and dicolon. The hand is not unlike that of 2657, but is more upright. Probably it should be assigned to the later second or early third century. On the front are the middles of lines of official correspondence in a large diffuse rounded documentary hand of the second century, upside down in relation to the back. Ll. 1-8 run

→    ]ς τοῖς πα .[  
         ]ὕμεῖς ταῦτα[  
         ]καὶ Κάστωρ ο[  
         ]εἰ ἐπεὶ συνέχω .[  
5    ]ήσει [τ]ῶ κρατίστ[ω  
         ]τὸν Ἡφαιστον ω .[  
         ] ζῶνος ἐπιστ .[  
         ]στηται μηδε .[

followed by a space of three lines, and then nine further lines.

The Menander text is identified by the fact that the first nine verses of col. ii are clearly the beginnings of *Samia* 134-42 Austin, even though they do not anywhere overlap what is in the Bodmer codex (hereafter B). Apart from furnishing the correct form of these verses, the papyrus shows also that in Men. fr. 248 Kō. (Stobaeus *Ecl.* IV 29 10 *Μενάνδρου Κηδεία*) Stobaeus did not finish the sentence in his quotation. After 142 are found the beginnings of twelve verses missing from the Bodmer codex. The ends of eleven verses of the previous column are probably to be located in the lacuna between vv. 119 and 120 (or indeed up to v. 125) of the Bodmer codex. The height of column in 2943 is not known, but the column would have had to contain 70 lines and the roll to have been 42-45 cm. high (both improbable) for these verses to be placed between 86 and 87 Austin. A suggestion for their location is made in the notes.

Some portions of this text were quoted in *CR* XXI (1971), pp. 352-3.



↓	Col. i	Col. ii
		134 [.]δ .λα .[
		135 <u>αλλωμ[</u> νοθον ·[ τιςδ[.]ςτ[ ητιςγο[ παίσεις; μ[
		140 ουθενγεν[ αλλειδικαιω[
		142a οχρηστοςε[
	. . . . .	b καιδουλο . .[
		c λεγωνεαν[
119b	].	d αλλαργυριον[
c	].φ .	e εστα . . ρ .ει .[
d	].ται ·	f <u>ειωαιπολ . . . .[</u>
e	].ν	g <u>κυταυταευ .χ[</u>
f	].χ .μαι ·	h <u>τουτουλαβ .[</u>
g	].ονος ··	i <u>αδηλονειπ[</u>
h	].ους ·	j <u>πασαναπο[</u>
i	].περιπατων	k πολυμ[
j	].τε	l τοιουτογ[
k	].	m κατα[
l	].	n .[
	. . . . .	. . . . .

## Col. i

119f ]χομαι (e.g. ερ]χομαι, οτ]χομαι) is not verifiable. ]χαμαι or ]σομαι would also be possible.  
119g After c (which turns right down on to the line, cf. 119h), high ink, forming a rising oblique line and loop. To understand as monogrammed *nota personae* for Mo = Mo(σχίων) is to interpret, not to read it.

119i ], high ink before π.

119j ], a blotted letter.

119k high stop.

## Col. ii

134 After ]δ, a vertical and a hole; .[, high dot and foot of a vertical, β possible, cf. β in 142h.

138 ν is represented by two uprights.

140-142a Men. fr. 248 Kδ.

142b After δουλο 2 dots of ink on line (beginning and end of a turned-over c), followed by high circle, below which is a concave curve on the line. The high circle is larger than any of the other dots (single or double) used as punctuation, and is best taken as part of a damaged letter, e.g. ε.

142e After α oblique shallow descender (ν if its fork has been lost, not much like υ). Then trace of vertical, a clear horizontal and right-facing curve (either τo or π); high ink above hole, then 2nd apex of μ, less probably λ, εi clear, then μ or ν.

142f 2nd ι in ειναι seems to be a later addition. After λ, short upright looped at the top, low ink (νc or εi possible) then either ν or c, or τ.

142g After ευ vertical and beginning of an oblique. The writing stops as though scribe wishing to make ν considered what he had written could serve instead as γ; last trace, χ or λ.

134	[η]δη λαβ[ο]υσα - (Μο.) μηδαμῶς. (Δη.) πῶς μηδαμῶς;
135	ἄλλω μ[ε θ]ρέψειν ἔνδον ὑὸν προσδοκᾶς νόθου; [λέγω]ν τοῦτ' οὐ τρόπου τοῦμοῦ λέγεις. (Μο.) τίς δ' [ε]στ[ὶν] ἡμῶν γνήσιος, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἢ τίς γό[θος] γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος; (Δη.) σὺ μὲν παίσεις. (Μο.) μ[ὲ]ν τὸν Διόνυσον, <ἄλλ' > ἐσπούδακα.
140	οὐθὲν γέν[ο]ς γένους γὰρ οἶμαι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰ δικαίω]ς ἐξετάσαι τις, γνήσιος
142a	ὁ χρηστός ἐ[στ]ω, ὁ δ[ε] πονηρὸς καὶ νόθος
142b	καὶ δοῦλος ε[σ]
142c	λέγωνεαν[
142d (?Δη.)	ἀλλ' ἀργύριον[
142e	ἐστ' αὐτῷ. εἰ .[
142f	εἶναι πολ . . . .[
142g (?Μο.)	σὺ ταῦτα κυγχ[
142h	τοῦτον λαβ .[
142i (?Δη.)	ἄδηλον εἰπ[
142j	πᾶσαν ἀπο[
142k (?Μο.)	πολὺ μ[
142l	τοιούτου[
142m	κατὰ[
142n	.[

## Col. i

119g These verses could be the last syllables of 122ff., e.g.

119g = 122	ὡς ἐγενόμην γὰρ ἐκτο[ ]νοος ἔθουο, ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον [ἐκάλουν τοὺς φίλ]ους, ἐπὶ λούτρ' ἔπεμπον τὰς γ[υναῖκα]ς, περιπατῶν
119j = 125	τὴν σεσαμῆν διένεμον, ἡ[δ]ον δὴ τ[ε]τε ὑμέναιον, ἑτερέτιζον·

122 e.g. ἐκτὸς ἄστεως μόνος, C. Austin, adn. cr.

123 ἐκάλουν τοὺς φίλους, C. Austin, adn. cr. If the ink at the end of 119g in 2943 does in fact stand for Mo(σχίων), this arrangement is excluded, since Moschion must speak v. 121 Austin.

## Col. ii

134 There would be room for η before δ. If ἡδη is right, and the next word is λαβοῦσα (ν before c is preferable to ι as the reading of B, where also the position of the dicolon favours a feminine participle), then the subject of this sentence has switched back from the υός of 132 to his mother. C. Austin, *Kl. Texte* II, p. 60 has also reverted to λαβοῦσα. If ἡ δ' ἐc is restored in 133 there is no expressed object to λαβοῦσα, and I have supposed that Moschion interrupts. But [δν] ἐc in 133 is not, I think, too short, and for Menander's use of such relatives cf. *Samia* 413, δε καὶ φράσας κτλ.

E. W. Handley suggests a different possibility, to read λαβ[ ] at the end of 134, and restore [η] δι[α]λαβ[ο]ῦσα. There would be a gradation from 130 ἐλάνθανον ἔχων, 132 λάθριος (if right) to ἡ διαλαβοῦσα. He compares the repetition of simple form by compound in successive words at *Dysk.* 818 (cf. his note ad loc.), and in reiterated repetition at *Epitr.* 558-9. In 134 the reading ] δι[α] instead of [η]δη is perfectly acceptable, but the traces at the end are easier to interpret as a β such as appears in 142h than as θ.

135 ἄλλω με θρέψειν: ἄλλω is common gender. 'Do you think I shall rear a son – a bastard son – in my house to please someone else?' Demeas has Chrysis in mind, the audience thinks at once of Moschion.

136 The reading in the text is a conjecture by E. W. Handley. It assumes an error in B's copying. More pedestrian suggestions such as [λόγον γ' οὐ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦμοῦ λέγεις offer an objectionable γε after a word that has no primary emphasis. For the order τρόπου τοῦμοῦ (anarthrous noun followed by articular attribute) cf. Handley's note on *Dysk.* 597 ἐρημίας τῆς νῦν.

142 a, b Stobaeus did not finish the sentence in his quotation ὁ δὲ πονηρὸς καὶ νόθος καὶ δοῦλος. Possibly εἶπεν was repeated after δοῦλος. The absence of paragraphus confirms that there is no change of speaker in this verse.

142 c The articulation is uncertain.

142 d: e.g. ἄλλ' ἀργύριον [κίβδηλον. . . Moschion's argument has reminded Demeas of Diogenes and his efforts παραχαράττειν τὸ νόμισμα (explicitly put in relationship to εὐγένεια by D.L. 6, 71–2). The possible πόλει, or πολίτης in 142 f may support this.

142 e Among the possibilities are ἐστ' αὐτὸ μιμ[εῖσθαι, ἐστ' αὐτὸ μεῖν[αι, ἐστ' αὐτὸ πολίτ[ης.

142 g E.g. συγγ[εῖς, συγγ[ωρεῖς.

142 i ἄδηλον ἐπι[α? 'You are talking in riddles.'

142 k πολὺ μ[ἄλλον?

#### 2944. ANON. περὶ ἀποφάσεων (?)

39 3B. 78/F (1–3)a

10.5 × 14.0 cm.

Late first century or early second century

Parts of three columns from a roll of small format. Only ends of lines in col. i and beginnings of col. iii survive, but the second column can be completely reconstructed. It contains only thirteen lines, with good margins above and below. The hand has pretensions to elegance. It is an upright capital of large size, regularly bilinear (only φ extends above and below the notional parallels), and was written with a fine pen. The lines are widely spaced. A is upright, M is in four movements, curved ω is in three movements, ξ is formal, υ is in Y form, with its upper members at a right angle to each other. Vertical and oblique strokes terminate below in well-developed serifs; left-pointing serifs tend to take on the form of an arch, right-pointing serifs are extended on the line to link with the base of the following letter. The upper ends of strokes terminate in finials (often drawn at right-angles to the stroke they complete; set on the upper line they resemble link strokes; paragraphi are treated in the same way). The hand is of a well-known type of large, rounded, formal capital, but is written with wider spacing and with a finer pen than the examples cited below as parallels: 20, 1362, 1375, 2352; 1084 is comparable, but less mannered. PSI XI 1213, which also has many serifs and finials, seems altogether more mannered, as well as smaller. Probably 2944 should be assigned to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. There are no lectional signs. Punctuation is by paragraphus and space in the line. A small coronis (iii 7) presumably indicates a new section. The text has been worked over by a corrector (cf. ii 7; but υπο ii 8 was not corrected).

On the back of col. ii, the same way up as the recto, an unpractised hand has copied as a doodling parts of four lines, some parts of which were subsequently erased.

1 [ ] vac cw .

2 το[υ] βιον ζηνων . . . . . (? Ζήνων, ζῆν ὄν)

3 τροπον ανακαλει . . . . c

4 και μετα . . . . .

The format is one used in the first and second centuries for copying poetry, cf. 2654, Menander, *Karchedonios*, 16 cm. high, 22 ll.; 659, Pindar, *Partheneion*, 13 cm. + high, 21 + ll., cut down so that the back, 662, could hold a collection of epigrams; P. London 135, Herodas, 12.4 cm., 15–19 ll. 2944, which has 13 ll. of text only in a total height of 14 cm., is more luxurious than these.

The subject of col. ii is the correct attribution to its author of an ἀπόφασις (5 n.). Philiscus of Miletus, known from the Suda and elsewhere (5–6 n.) as a pupil of Isocrates and teacher of Timaeus, is then quoted as a source, possibly for its correct ascription, of a judgement which is essentially the same as the famous judgement of Solomon known from 1 Kings 3:16 ff.

The fact that the anecdote of the judgement was known in the Greek world as early as the fourth century B.C., is new and interesting. (Indeed, since Philiscus is quoted à propos of a personage already discussed (ἐκεῖνον, ii 3) in a context of disputed attribution, the papyrus may be evidence that it was known at an earlier date still.) Sir James Frazer in *The Folklore of the Old Testament* III, ch. xi, could point to no Greek counterpart of the story, nor is any quoted in Stith-Thompson, *Index of Folk Themes*. Elsewhere\* I have developed some speculations about the way in which this story might have reached the Greek world, and suggested that it travelled independently of the Hebrew scriptures.

The format of the papyrus, a small-sized de luxe roll, and the pretentiousness of the handwriting, suggest a 'prestige' book of anecdotal type, perhaps devoted to a collection of ἀποφάσεις. If ἀποφάσεις means 'apophthegms' it might have concerned the Seven Sages (cf. PSI IX 1093, B. Snell, *Festschrift Ida Kapp*, pp. 105 ff.); but it may also mean 'judgements', and the anecdote of the 'Judgment of Solomon' might support this second meaning. A suggestion\* has been hazarded, following a hint by A. Momigliano, that Philiscus' work Ἰσοκράτους Ἀπόφασις, quoted in the Suda, might itself have been an imaginary *Judgement* put in the mouth of Isocrates by Philiscus (cf. Isocrates' own *Busiris*).

\* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs* No. 6.

Col. i	Col. ii	Col. iii
	top	
→ ] .με	[ ]ζωστεκαι .[ ]ετ[	. . . . .
] .ατε	ρω .ιγεγονεν .ιδοκ[ ] .[	
] .εν	ωνεπεκεινονενι[ ] αμ[	
] .ρη	αμετενηνεχθαιτω[ ] στ[	
]εν	5 αποφασεων φιλικος	δ .[
]λι	γουνομιλησιουσυπο	τη[
]ε	τουδιαμφισβητηθεν	υ 2 πρ[
]με	τοσυποτωνγυναι	υ 2 δε .[
]	κωνπαιδιουγεγρα	νο[
]κη	10 φεν οτισκηπτομε	σου[
]ι	νωναμφοτερωντε	..[
].	κεινπροσταξαιτομ[	. . . . .
. . . . .	. ος . κ . τεραδιατεμ[	
	foot	

Col. i. 1 ], long right-hand pointing serif, then possibly a space before με 2 ], high and low ink (e.g. c) 3 ], high dot of ink 11 ]ι ν could not be excluded

Col. ii. Assessment of the number of letters missing must take into account the fact that the papyrus is warped at the beginning of lines (cf. *ων* in l. 3, *μ* in l. 4).

1 και [ high dot of ink 2 ρω, ι leftward-facing curve; ν, ι right-facing serif on line 7 ηηη of *διαμφισβητηθεν* crossed out, then written over again 13 Before ος high dot of ink, after c high curve, after κ trace of oblique and right-facing serif

Col. iii. 5 .[ a vertical, ι, η, ν 8 .[ θ or ε 10 σου[ for ν, χ possible but less likely.

	[ . . . ]ς ὥστε καὶ τ[ῶν] ἐτ[έ- ρωθι γεγονέναι δοκ[ου- cῶν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνί- ac μετενηνέχθαι τῶ[ν 5 ἀποφάσεων. Φιλίσκος γούν ὁ Μιλήσιος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμφισβητηθέν- τος ὑπὸ τῶν γυναι- κῶν παιδίου γέγρα- 10 φεν ὅτι σκηπτομέ- νων ἀμφοτέρων τε- κεῖν προστάξει τὸ μ[έ- ρος ἐκατέρα διατέμ[νενω
--	--

Col. ii ' . . . so that even of the judgements which seem to have been uttered on other occasions some have been transferred to him. For example, Philiscus of Miletus has written, on the subject of the child, which the two women claimed was theirs, that when both of them were pretending to be its mother, he gave orders to cut it in two, and to give a half to each of them.'

5 ἀποφάσεων: ἀπόφασις may mean 1, 'apophthegm', as in D.L. i 41 or 2, as technical term, 'judgement', e.g. Dem. 47, 45; 33, 21 (award of an arbitrator in Athenian law); P. Teb. 286, 11 (decision of an emperor in Roman law).

Φιλίσκος: Suda s.v. Φιλίσκος· Μιλήσιος, ῥήτωρ, Ἰσοκράτους ἀκουστής τοῦ ῥήτορος. ἐγένετο δὲ πρότερον αὐλητῆς παραδοξότατος. διὸ καὶ Ἀλλοστρύπην Ἰσοκράτης αὐτὸν ἐκάλει, γέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ τάδε· Μιλησιακός, Ἀμφικτυονικός, Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ ἐν βεβλίοις β, Ἰσοκράτους Ἀπόφασις. Ibid. s.v. Τιμαῖος· Φιλίσκου μαθητῆς τοῦ Μιλησίου. Olympiodorus ad Platonis Gorgiam p. 215 Norvin, καὶ πάλιν ὁ Φιλίσκος τὸν βίον γράφων τοῦ Λυκούργου φησὶν ὅτι μέγας γέγονε Λυκούργος καὶ πολλὰ κατώρθωσεν ἃ οὐκ ἐστὶ δυνατὸν κατορθῶσαι τὸν μὴ ἀκροασάμενον τῶν λόγων Πλάτωνος. Cf. the discussion by Robert F. Renehan, *GRBS* xi (1970), pp. 229–30. Ἰσοκράτους Ἀπόφασις was understood by Bergk as 'Absagebrief an Isokrates', while Sanneg, *de schola Isocr.* 32 emended to Ἀποφάσεις, i.e. 'Apophthegms of Isocrates' (F. Solmsen in RE).

6 ὑπό is not commentator's Greek for 'under the heading of'. It is possible that ἐπί (a suggestion of C. H. Roberts) or ὑπέρ is intended.

13 Οἱ διατέμ[νοντα διαδοῦναι.

## II. KNOWN CLASSICAL TEXTS

## 2945. THEOCRITUS xiv 30-50

No inventory number

5 × 14 cm.

Second century

Nothing is contributed by this scrap of what must have been quite a handsome manuscript towards the text of Theocritus except a couple of errors, including mistakes of accentuation: *τηνος* l. 5, *ωι* l. 17, *άι-* l. 14, *δυστάν[-* l. 20, unless *έκλαι'* l. 3 and *αμεε* l. 19 are counted as merits.

The script is a good-sized upright bookhand comparable with 844 and P. Ryl. 482, attributed to the second century. I think I detect two pens in the accents.

→	(30)	χωλ[ θεεε[.] [ εκλαιεε[ παρθεν[
	5	τηνοσε[
	(35)	ηλασακά[ έξωαποφ[ αλλοετρο[ θαλπεφ[
	10	μαστακα[
	(40)	αφορρ[.]ν[ ωκυτε[ ιθυδι[ άινός[
	15	εικαπιτα[
	(45)	αμερο[ εξωιαπ[ οιδε·λυ[ αμεεδ[
	20	δυστάν[
	(50)	.]ειμε[

Codd.: K LWTr ANU; Pap. Antin.

3 (32) *έκλαιεν* Pap. K Tr ANU *έκλαι'* LW 5 (34) *τήμος* Pap. KLW *τάμος* Tr ANU 7 (36) Of  
ω[ only the left-hand curve; ο possible *άποίχετο* K, *δ' αποί[ω]χεο* Pap. 8 (37) *αλλοε* δη Pap.  
17 (46) *έξ ω* οδ KW 19 (48) *άμμεε*: *αμεε* at l. (20) Pap. 20 (49) *δύετανοι* KTr.

2946. TRIPHODORUS, *Fall of Troy*, 391-402

78 6B. 96/B(e)

5.5 × 8.5 cm.

Third/fourth century?

This scrap has the distinction of being the first papyrus of Triphiodorus to be recognized. It is of unexpected interest because of the type of script in which it is written, a type usually called 'the common angular hand' and usually assigned to a period running from the late second century to the early fourth. There has been no indication that any example of it should be placed as late as the fifth century, to which Triphiodorus has hitherto been dated. Even to those who are properly sceptical about very precise datings on palaeographical considerations and to those who remember what surprises spring up sometimes for the palaeographers – e.g. P. Bodmer XX on which see E. G. Turner's remarks in *JEA* LII (1966), p. 199 – this manuscript may seem sufficient reason for doubting the usual conjecture about Triphiodorus' date. Moreover, since that conjecture depends on the relations between his poem and those of Quintus Smyrnaeus and Nonnus, experts in the language of late epic may be able to use this clue in their researches.

I am glad to be able to say that Dr Alan Cameron has already acted on this hint and produced in an appendix to his book *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*, pp. 478-82, a summary of Triphiodorus' metrical technique and language and an analysis of passages where he was alleged to have imitated Nonnus. Dr Cameron concludes that Triphiodorus was unaffected by the stricter metrical conventions of Nonnus and is likely to have been a source for Nonnus rather than deriving from him.

The papyrus has been referred to also by Dr M. L. West in *Gnomon* XLII (1970), p. 658, cf. the early date given by him in *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tryphiodorus. Professor J. P. Barron has written a note on the uncertain date of Triphiodorus in *BICS* XVI (1969), p. 146 n. 43.

Many hands of a generally similar type can be found in the plates of this series, though there is none parallel in every respect. Closest, perhaps, are 2216 (vol. XIX, pl. III), assigned to the third century, and 2370 (vol. XXIII, pl. IX), assigned to c. A.D. 200. The best evidence for the date is provided by 1012 (vol. VII, pl. IV), which is quite similar in scale, slope and letter shapes, though the individual letters are more carefully formed and separated than in the Triphiodorus. This work of literary criticism was written on the back of a roll of official accounts (1045), in which there occurs the titlature of Septimius Severus, and which mentions a thirteenth year perhaps of the same reign. The editor, Dr Hunt, assessed the likely life of such an account at between thirty and fifty years and assigned 1012 to the middle of the third century.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr Cavallo has been kind enough to give me his expert opinion in a letter. He agrees with the date which I have suggested and cites as parallels P. Berol. 9766 (Seider II 33), P. Ryl. I 57 (Roberts 22c), and P. Chester Beatty XI (Seider II 57). All these hands are on a somewhat larger scale than that of 2946, but still very relevant.

Since the evidence for the dating of Graeco-Egyptian literary hands of any sort is so thin, it is only honest and prudent to assign wide chronological limits to hands for which there are no independent dating criteria. In this case such palaeographical evidence as there is suggests that the Triphiodorus belongs to the third century but does not exclude the possibility of a date in the fourth century.

The fragment preserves a lower margin 2 cm. deep and contains parts from near the beginnings of 10 lines. Because the horizontal fibres have been stripped away near the top there are no remains of 392-3. There are no lectional signs. For the reader's convenience the text is presented as that of the Teubner edition – except in line 6 = 396, see note – with the addition of brackets and sublinear dots.

On the back there is a top margin of 1.3 cm., in which there is a figure or heading. Beneath it are parts of 13 or 14 lines of a much damaged text written across the fibres in a script very like that of the Triphiodorus and probably by the same hand. It is apparently prose but it may be connected with the Triphiodorus, see 2947 introd.

- και δὴ πορφύρ]εο[ν μὲν ἑλίσσεται ἔνδοθι πύργων  
[αἵματος ἐκχυμένου πέλαγος καὶ κῦμα φόνοιο,]  
[δεσμά τε συμπαθέων πλέκεται περὶ χερσὶ γυναικῶν]  
νυμφί]α, φ[ωλεύει δ' ὑπὸ δούρασι κευθόμενον πῦρ.  
5 ὦμο]ι ἐμῶν ἀ[χέων, ὦμοι κέο, πάτριον ἄστν, 395  
αὐτί]κα μοι λεπτή κ[όνις ἔσσει, οὔχεται ἔργον  
ἀθα]νάτων, προθέ[λυμνα θεμειλια Λαιομέδοντος.  
καὶ κέ,] πάτερ καὶ μ[ῆτερ, ὀδύρομαι, οἶά μοι ἤδη  
ἀμ]φότεροι πείσεσθε. ε[ὐ μὲν, πάτερ, οἰκτρὰ δεδουπῶς  
10 κε]ίσειαι Ἐρκείοιο Δι[ὸς μεγάλου παρὰ βωμῶ. 400  
μῆ]τερ ἀριστοτόκεια, κέ δὲ [βροτέης ἀπὸ μορφῆς  
λυσσαλ]ήην ἐπὶ παισὶ θεοὶ κῦ[να ποιήσουσι.

6 αὐτί]κα μοι λεπτή κ[όνις ἔσσει. After αὐτίκα Weinberger, the editor of the Teubner text, prints λεπταλή, without manuscript authority, based on Koechly's λεπταλή. F, Weinberger's preferred manuscript, has λεπτή, without μοι and therefore unmetrically, if I understand his apparatus correctly. The *deteriores* have αὐτίκα μοι λεπτή.

The traces after eta, though much damaged, are very suitable for κ[, and not at all suitable for ικ[. That is, it is certain that the manuscript does not have the iota adscript which would have made the writer's view plain if he had intended a dative. But the absence of an iota leaves open the choice between a nominative and a dative.

Like Weinberger, I have preferred a nominative. It is – however we take it – an echo of Soph. *Ant.* 256, where λεπτή . . . κόνις refers to the dust sprinkled by Antigone over the body of Polyneices, cf. *Il.* 23 506 ἐν λεπτή κούρη. The sense here is that the mighty city of Troy will be ground to fine dust, as it were, by the weight of the disaster that is to fall upon it. If we apply λεπτή το μοι, κόνις still bears this sense alone and λεπτή emphasizes Cassandra's unhappiness and powerlessness.

[*Addendum:* Mr Parsons makes the suggestion, new as far as I can discover, that κόνις here means ashes, see LSJ s.v. 1, 2, the natural result of the fire threatened in 394.]

## 2947. PROSE

78 6B. 96/B(c)

5.5 × 8.5 cm.

Third/fourth century?

This piece of prose appears on the back of 2946, a fragment of Triphiodorus, upside down in relation to it and in a hand that is probably the same. The damaged surface allows only a very tentative and uninformative transcription. In default of a certain identification it can only be regarded as a 'Wartext', but one interesting possibility is raised by the occurrence of the name of Neoptolemus (5).

The passage on the front refers to the murder of Priam (399-400). It might be, therefore, that 2947 is a commentary on the poem. Such a format is very unusual, but compare 2694, an annotated manuscript of Apollonius Rhodius with some of the scholia on the back. It is illustrated in *BICS* VII (1960), plates I, II. If the ink in the top margin here is a column number, however, the resemblance is less close, because the width of the right margin in 2694, back, suggests that it was not a continuous commentary there.

I have not succeeded at all in understanding the text as a comment on Triphiodorus 399-400, but it is worth remembering that in 2694 the comments on the back do not refer to the portions of the text that survive on the inside of the same fragment. Also, if this is a continuous commentary it would be a difficult task to keep it in step with the text on the other side. Neoptolemus is actually named in Triphiodorus 153, 157 and 634 and might easily be mentioned in comment on other passages.

↓ ] (m. 2) .'. [ ] . . αδεομοιωσαπο . [ ] επιβαλλομεναε . [ ] . . πετ . νυπελθ . [ 5 ] δεγεοπτολεμ . [ ] . μη . . ελθωντ [ ] . . νευεπολ . [ ] . ητηε . ατα . [ ] . ιανταπαν [ 10 ] . . εκη . . . [

(traces of three, perhaps four, more lines)

1 This seems to be a column number, perhaps π' = 80, perhaps a two-digit number, λ.' = 30+.

7 The traces would accommodate ] φονεύς, very appropriate to Neoptolemus. Polyxena might be thought of for πολ . [, especially as she is actually mentioned in 403, but a trace low on the left suggests rather πολλ[.

8 κατα . [ could suit.

10-13 (14?) These traces of 3 or 4 lines stand on broken and twisted fibres. Not a single letter can be read for certain.

2948. CHARITON, *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, ii 4. 5-5. 1

37 4B. 87F(2-3)a

Col. i, height 22.2 cm.

Second or third century

Further fragments of two columns of 1019 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 241, dated by Hunt to the second or third century. More recently E. G. Turner (R. Petri, 'Ueber den Roman des Charitons', *Beitr. zur klass. Philologie* XI [Meisenheim, 1967], p. 47) further restricted the date to 175-225 and preferred a date within the second century. Column i gives parts of the lower 42 lines of the 49- or 50-line column following 1019 ii. Assuming that nothing is left out at the top, the fragments of column ii begin with line 10 or 11. The traces of this column are faint, but it is obvious that there is a serious corruption at lines 48-9. In textual matters this papyrus preserves some better readings than F, the unique complete manuscript of Chariton, and also some that are much worse. There are some rather unexpected forms, e.g. *παράττει* at line 20 and *τοιούτο* at 25. The scribe is given to simple haplography as well as other corruptions more difficult to diagnose. Collated with the text of W. E. Blake (Oxford, 1938).

→ Col. i

της ουδε τη]ν κ[αταγραφην επι-  
 λονεικει ] δε ο ερω[ς] β[ουλευο-  
 μενω κα]λως και υβρ[ιν εδο-  
 κει την σω]φροσυνην τ[ην εκει-  
 5 νου δια] τουτο επυρπο[λει σφοδρο-  
 τερον ψυ]χην εν ερω[τι φιλοσο-  
 φουσαν μ]ηκετ ουν φε[ρων μονος  
 αυτω δι]αλεγεσθαι λ[εωναν  
 μετεπε]μψατο κλη[θεις δε  
 10 εκεινος συν]ηκε [ μ]ε[ν την αιτι-  
 αν προσεπο]ιειτ[ο δε αγν]οειν κα[ι  
 ωσπερ τετα]ρα[γμενος ] τι φησι[ν  
 αγρυπνεις ω δε]σποτα μη τι π[α-  
 15 λω σε λυπη κατει]ληφεν της τ[ε-  
 θνηκυιας ουδεν] απορρητον ε[στι  
 μοι προς σε δι ε]ννοιαν τε κα[ι  
 πιστιν απολ]ωλα σοι λεωνα ς[ν  
 μοι των ] κακων αιτιος πυρ ε[κομι-  
 20 κας εις τ]ην οικιαν μαλλον [ δε εις  
 την εμη]ν ψυχην ταρατ[τει δε με  
 και το αδ]ηλον το περι τη[ς γυναι-

ii 4. 5

κος μυθο]ν μοι διηγη εμ[πορον  
 . . . . ον ου]κ οίδα ουτε ο[ποθεν <ηλθεν>  
 ο[υ]τ[ε ο]που παλιw απη[λθεν εχων  
 25 δε τις τοιουτο καλλο]ς εν ερημια  
 πιπρα]σκει και ταλαντου τ[η]ν  
 τω]ν βασιλεωσ χρηματων αξιαν  
 δ]αμμων σε τις εξηπατησεν επι-  
 στ]ησον ουν και αναμνησθητι  
 30 τω]ν γενομενων τινα ειδες τι-  
 νι] ελαλησεν ειπε μοι το [α]λη[θη]ς  
 ου πλοι]ον εθεασω {α} ουκ ειδον [ δε-  
 σποτ]α αλλα ηκουσα τουτ εκ[ει-  
 νο ] μια νυμφων η νηρηιδ[ων  
 35 εκ θαλ]ασσης ανεληλυθε [ κα-  
 ταλ]αμβανουσι δε και δαι[μο-  
 νας κα]ιροι τινες ειμαρμενη[ς  
 αναγκ]ην φεροντες ομειλια[ς  
 μετ α]νθρωπων ταυτα ημ[ιν ισ-  
 40 τορο]νσιν ποιηται τε και [ συγ-  
 γραφ]εις ηδεωσ δε ανεπειθ[εν αυ-  
 το]ν ο διονυσιος σεμ[υνειν  
 τ]ην γυναικα και σεβ[ασμιω-  
 foot

Col. ii

αληθ]ειαν μεταπεμφομαι δε αυ-  
 45 την [ουκ ενθαδε μη και τινος  
 β[ι]αι[οτερου λαβωμεν υποψιαν  
 αλλα ο[που πρωτον αυτην εθεα-  
 σαμη]ν . . . . . εδο-  
 50 ξεγ κα[ι τη υστεραια ο μεν διονυ-  
 σιος παρ]αλαβων φιλους τε και α-  
 πελευ[θερους και των οικετων  
 τους π[ιστοτατους ινα εχη και  
 μα]ρ[τ]υ[ρας ηκεν εις το τεμενος

ii 5.1

24 λι corrected from α or μ 38 l. ομλια[ς 42 διονυσιος ν corrected from δ

5 ἐπυρπόλει: ἐπυρφόρει F: Hercher post Anon. Leidensem conjectured ἐπυρπόλει. πυρφορεῖν is found elsewhere transitively only in Aeschylus *Septem* 341 (lyrics).

13 μή τι: μή τις F: Gasda *Mnemosyne* VIII (1859), p. 258, conjectured μή τι, as here, citing ii, 1, 8 'et alibi', as parallels.

14 Two lines lost by haplography: τῆς τε|θηγκυίας γυναικός, γυναικός μὲν | εἶπεν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς τε|θηγκυίας.

15 Spacing suggests that δέ was left out by haplography with οὐδέν.

17 ἀπόλ]ωλά σοι Λεωνᾶ: ἀπόλωλας ὦ Λεωνᾶ F: ἀπολώλεκας Cobet: ἀπόλωλά σοι ὦ Λεωνᾶ Blake: Zimmermann, *Philologus* LXXX (1925), p. 47, conjectured what P has and cited i, 12, 8 and ii, 1, 5 as the only other places where ὦ occurs with Λεωνᾶ.

20 P gives no support for Cobet's τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμήν. ταρατ[τει: ταρασσει F. See W. E. Blake's edition, p. xiv on the use of Attic forms in Chariton.

23 . . . ον ου]κ: πτηνόν ὄν ουκ F. There is not enough space for πτηνόν either at the beginning of 23 or split between lines 22 and 23. The reading of F is, moreover, at best too poetic for Chariton (the usage is unparalleled, cf. LSJ *s.v.*) and at worst nonsense. The now lost reading of P, at most four letters (at least one of which should be fairly narrow), is possibly to be recovered from an earlier passage in book ii. At ii, 1, 3 Leonas tells his master Dionysius about the slave, Callirhoe, that he has just purchased for him: καὶ ἀρξάμενος [Λεωνᾶς] αὐτῷ [Διονυσίῳ] διηγεῖται, 'προσῆλθέ μοί τις ἔμπορος πηράσκων γυναῖκα καλλίστην'. In Dionysius' angry outburst at ii, 4, 7 the echoes of Leonas' earlier narration are obvious and along with the spacing of P suggest ἐμ[πορόν]||[τινα ὄν ου]κ, as the reading of P. How this came to be changed by the time of the fourteenth-century F is easily explained by assuming a dittography τυτι. This was then interpreted as πτι or πτη, and subsequent attempts to correct and normalize the resulting πτινα or πτηνα produced the poetic and bizarre ἔμπορον πτηνόν. [An alternative approach would be to suppose that the papyrus omitted ὄν by haplography, cf. 14 n.]

οἶδα: οἶδας F: P's reading here is a mistake: οἶδα<ς>. οὔτε: οὐδ' F: Hercher conjectured οὔθ'. Spacing suggests a haplography of ἦλθεν probably caused by ὀπόθεν which indicates that P had singular verbs as in F (Hercher had suggested ἦλθον. . . ἀπῆλθον).

25 τοιοῦτο: τοιοῦτον F: cf. Mayser i i 309 and also Blake's ed. p. xiv.

26 Hercher unnecessarily deleted καί.

28 δ]αίμωνν *κέ τις*: δαίμωνν δὲ *τίς* F: δαίμωνν δὲ *τίς* <κε> Blake: δαίμωνν δὲ <κέ> *τις* Reiske: δαίμωνν *κέ τις* Cobet, now supported by P.

30 τίνα: τίνας F. P's reading (conjectured by Hercher) preserves parallelism.

31 ἐλάλησεν: ἐλάλησας F.

33 τοῦτ' ἐκ[εῖ]νο]: τοῦτο ἐκείνο F.

37 εἰμαρμένης: P confirms F against Cobet's εἰμαρμένοι.

41 δ' also F: Hercher wished to remove it.

42 *σεμ[ύ]νειν*: ἀποσεμνύνειν F. The uncompound form is more frequent, but the *koine* preference for compound verbs may argue in support of F's reading.

43 καί: so F; *del.* Reiske, *ὡς* Blake.

47 ff. F reads: *ἔθεασάμην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης γενέσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι. ταῦτα ἔδοξε*. It appears that the scribe of P left out at least a whole line for no discernible reason unless, as is possible, the source of P differed from what is in F at this point.

### III. THEOLOGICAL TEXT

#### 2949. FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL(?)

7 1B. 217/B(d)

(1) 4 × 7.5 cm. (2) 1.7 × 2.6 cm. Late second or early third century

The larger of these fragments relates the story of Joseph of Arimathaea's request to Pilate for the body of Jesus, in a version which is not that of the canonical Gospels. Among the Apocrypha its closest resemblances are to the Gospel of Peter, §2, although even from this it has considerable variations. The hand is an informal slanting type, somewhat resembling Roberts, *GLH*, 18c; I would assign it to the early third or possibly the late second century.

The larger fragment covered thirteen lines, but the surface at ll. 2 and 4 is now entirely abraded. No margins are preserved. The smaller fragment (2) has the beginnings of five lines, and probably should be placed to the lower left of (1), but as regards the precise line-alignment neither fibres nor text seem conclusive, nor has use of a light-table been helpful. The verso is blank; the book therefore was apparently not a codex.

Fr. (1)

. . . . .  
 ]τ[  
 abraded  
 ]ν . . [  
 abraded  
 5 ]οφιλοσπ[ . ]ελα[ . ]οψ . [  
 ] . ισοτικελευσεν[  
 ]θωνπροσπειλατο[  
 ] . . .ωμαεισταφην[  
 ]ηνητησα[  
 10 ]ηναιειπω[  
 ]αιτησα . [  
 ]αυτον[  
 ] . οτια[

Fr. (2)

. . . . .  
 . μου[  
 15 πειλ[

11 Last trace apparently λ or μ.

		τισα[
		μεν[
		.[
Fr. (1)		]τ[
		abraded
		]ν..[
		abraded
	5	] ὁ φίλος Π[ε]ιλ[ά]τ[ου] οὐ .[
		] .ις ὅτι ἐκέλευεν [
		ελ]θῶν πρὸς Πειλάτ[ου]
		]τὸ σῶμα εἰς ταφὴν [
		Ἡρώδ]ην ἠτήσα[το
	10	]ηναὶ εἰπῶ[ν
		]αιτησα .[
		] αὐτὸν [
		] . ὅτι α[
Fr. (2)		.μου[
	15	Πειλ[ατ-
		τις α[ὐτὸν?
		μεν[
		.[

5 The final trace could be from κ, i.e. κ[αὶ τοῦ κυρίου as in *Peter*.  
6 εἰδ]ώς is expected, yet the traces seem against it, unless perhaps εἰδ]ώις were written. ὅτι ἐκέλευεν [ : it seems that here, as in *Peter*, Joseph's request to Pilate is placed prior to the execution, contrary to the order of events in the canonical Gospels.

9 ἠτήσα[το: *Peter* has ἤτησεν; ἠτήσατο (in the preceding context) in Matt. 27: 58, Mark 15: 43, Luke 23: 52.

10 ἀποδοθ]ῆναι? Cf. Matt. 27: 58, where however the account differs from *Peter*.

11 E.g. κ]αὶ τῆς ἀλ[λ]ης, ] αἰτησαμ[εν-.

Appended is the text of the *Gospel of Peter*, 2: 3-5 (from Bonaccorsi, *Vangeli Apocriphi*, p. 16):  
ἰστίκει δὲ ἐκεῖ Ἰωσήφ ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ εἶδὼς ὅτι σταυρίσκειν αὐτὸν μέλλουσιν, ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλάτον καὶ ἤτησε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς ταφὴν. καὶ ὁ Πειλάτος πέμψας πρὸς Ἡρώδη ἤτησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἔφη· ἀδελφεῖ Πειλάτε, εἰ καὶ μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἠτήκει, ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐθάπτομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ κάββατον ἐπιφώσκει.

## IV. LATIN DOCUMENTS

## 2950. DEDICATION TO DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

No inventory number

26 cm. × 23 cm.

Late third century

Parts of three lines containing an average of eleven letters each, set out on a large piece of papyrus cut from a roll (a kollesis can be seen about 9 cm. from the right-hand edge). The back is blank. When complete it was probably four times as long. The letters are bold, large (average height about 3.5 cm.) Latin rustic capitals, resembling those of dipinti or contemporary inscriptions cut on stone. They may be restored as a dedication to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian by one or more army units, one of them being a vexillatio of the 5th Macedonian legion. The layout excludes the possibility of restoring the names of the Caesars. J. F. Gilliam warns me that this does not necessarily mean that the dedication is to be dated before A.D. 293. The same unit(s) might have made separate dedications to the Caesars, such as are found in e.g. ILS 631-3. The fact that the papyrus was found in Oxyrhynchus does not prove the presence of the military units in question at Oxyrhynchus, though that is the likeliest hypothesis.

I am indebted to Dr J. C. Shelton for some preliminary work on the text, and to Professor J. F. Gilliam for the benefit of discussion and several good suggestions.

The letters were not written with a pen, but traced with a brush or soft reed. I had reached this conclusion before reading E. M. Catich, *The Origin of the Serif: Brush Writing and Roman Letters* (Davenport, Iowa, 1969). I am confirmed in my view by his analysis of the characteristics of brush writing, from which I have borrowed a number of terms. The points of contact and of withdrawal of the brush (the 'edging-in' and 'edging-out flick', as Catich calls them) can be seen clearly in, for instance, the downward stroke of the first A in l. 1. Very occasionally the brush left a ragged edge, as in the V of l. 3. The 'writer' was a person of considerable skill. We can admire his ability to manipulate his brush in the formation of a letter such as O or C, where the 'cant of the brush' (Catich) is continually changed to produce a progressively increasing width of stroke. Letters are even in size and carefully aligned between two notional parallel lines. The descending obliques from left to right are fat, and evenly traced and inked; uprights or obliques slanting to the right are fine. These fine strokes may be completed at their foot or top with a serif made by two strokes traced in opposite directions, each with their appropriate 'edge-out'. The points placed high between words are made in the same way. It should be noted that these points are marks of abbreviation, not *interpuncta*: they do not occur when a word is written in full, e.g. after Mar]co l. 2. Gilliam very plausibly suggests that the handwriting was the work of a military tradesman (*librarius* or *orthographus* or the like), and compares the dipinti from Dura-Europus (*Dura Excavations Report V*, pp. 224 ff.; *Excavations of the Ninth Season*, pp. 25 ff.).

A first thought was that this text was a mason's rough for cutting an inscription,



prepared at facsimile size, and indicating precisely the curves and relative thickness and fineness of stroke expected of the stone-cutter. There has recently been much discussion of the procedure by which a Latin inscription came to be cut, begun by Jean Mallon in a number of articles, and summarized in his *Paléographie romaine* (Madrid, 1952), pp. 57-61. He distinguishes between the *redactio*, i.e. composition of the words of the text which were written down on papyrus or parchment, the *ordinatio* or blocking-out of these words on the stone with a piece of crayon or charcoal or metal point or brush, and the cutting of these traces by the stone-cutter. Discussions since, e.g. by Joyce S. and Arthur E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957) and by Giancarlo Susini, *Il Lapicida romano* (Bologna, 1966, reproduced Rome, 1968) have explored the relative contributions of the *ordinator* and the stone-cutter. There seems to be general agreement that the work of *ordinatio* was done on the stone itself. Not one of these scholars envisages the possibility that the *ordinatio* was first set out on papyrus - a cartoon, as it were, from which the details might be transferred to the stone by pointing or squaring. For monuments in the high style such a procedure might be both logical and practicable, and 2950 could be an example of such a cartoon. But if so, it would be a unique case. As the Gordons point out, 'so far as we know, no fragments of papyri or parchment, and no wax tablets which are demonstrably the "copy" for inscriptions have been found' (ibid. p. 218 n. 12). It might be worth while for an epigrapher to re-examine a selection of well-cut inscriptions in good lettering with this possibility in mind. Meantime this suggestion is matter only for speculation.

Alternative possibilities can indeed be envisaged. One attractive suggestion was made by J. F. Gilliam, that this large piece of papyrus might itself have been displayed as a banner, or even on a temporary triumphal arch, perhaps erected in Oxyrhynchus itself to welcome the emperor in person on his visit in A.D. 298. Gilliam points out that the notice written above the cross at Calvary must have been of this nature. Dipinti such as the shop signs at Pompeii are also cousins to it.

A vexillatio of legio V Macedonica is inferred, by a process of combination, to have been stationed in Egypt in the last decade of the third century, and was very probably in Oxyrhynchus in January A.D. 295 (43 recto; W. Ensslin, *Aeg.* (1952), pp. 163 ff.; D. van Berchem, *L'Armée de Dioclétien et la réforme Constantiniennne*, pp. 105-6). The off-centre disposition of the lettering in l. 3 suggests that a second unit was named in the lost later portion of that line. If so, it might have been a vexillatio of legio XIII Gemina, which is mentioned in company with that of V Macedonica in the same sources.

→ ]Q AVR[ ]VAL·DIOC[  
]COA[ ]R·VAL·MAX[  
]VEXILL· LEG·V·M[

Imp. Caes. Gai]o Aur[el]. Val. Dioc[letiano pio fel. inuicto Augusto  
Imp. Caes. Mar]co A[u]r. Val. M[aximiano pio fel. inuicto Augusto  
]vexill. leg. v. M[ac. et

1 There is a slight doubt whether the first letter is O or C. But the ductus strongly suggests O, the spacing requires O, and it seems that a horizontal strip of papyrus fibres has been carried away at places where the ink ought to show (but leaving a tiny trace in the upright of the second curve).

There would be room to restore Aur[el]. There may have been no more than AVR[ ] and an empty space. Cf. the empty space after VEXILL· in l. 3. But the position of the *punctum* before VAL is in favour of the longer restoration.

## 2951. LATIN SALE OF SLAVE

28 4B. 60/C(3)a

25.5 × 53.5 cm.

26 May A.D. 267

Marias Barsimes, son of Barsimes Bassus, here conveys a slave, Nice surnamed Sapricon, to Aurelius Apollonius. The transaction took place in the winter quarters of the legio II Traiana on 26 May A.D. 267. The buyer is an optio of an unspecified unit. The seller and his father are cataphracts, or mailed cavalymen; because of the Semitic names involved, their unit may have had an origin similar to that of the ala nova catafractaria Philippiana, which was recruited largely in Mesopotamia (Eadie, *JRS LVII* (1967), pp. 168 n. 37, 169). See also below (27 n.).

Precise parallels to this text are lacking. Most of the phraseology is, it is true, reflected in the Latin instruments of sale in Arangio-Ruiz, *Negotia* 87-90, 132, 136 and 137. The present papyrus, however, has quite a different structure:

1. Lines 1-18, in Latin and objective. The first part is lost. The surviving text begins with the evictio clause: '[et si quis eam puellam (or: mulierem) partemve quam eius evicerit quominus empt]orem' etc. (see l. 1 and note).

2. Lines 19-30, in Greek and subjective; the subscription of the seller Marias Barsimes.

3. Lines 31-2, Greek subscription of Barsimes Bassus, who, as ll. 7-8 show, gives the sponsio in the name of 'his son Marias Barsimes'.

4. Lines 33-6, four lines of Latin, possibly signature of a witness. Here the papyrus breaks off.

It is difficult to determine how the text began. The other Roman contracts of sale referred to above are written from the buyer's point of view, i.e. they commence with buyer's name + *emit*. This is in conformity with Roman law (see *Negotia* 138, introd.; Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, p. 110). But the present papyrus, to judge from the subscription of Marias Barsimes (19 seqq.), may have started with the seller's name + *vendidit*. If so, it was probably influenced by the Greek law of contract, which recognized, in the Roman period, two main types of sale: (1) *ὁμολογεῖ* A to B *πεπρακέναι*, where the seller is emphasized; and (2) *ἐπρίατο* B *παρὰ* A, with the buyer in the foreground (Pringsheim, op. cit. pp. 109-11).

The papyrus is written across the fibres. The principal hand is a large-sized, clear cursive rather similar to that of 1114 (A.D. 237). Noteworthy are the ligatures of *u* with a following letter, e.g. *ue, un, us, um, ul*. Abbreviations are usually indicated by an oblique

stroke, e.g. *q'e' = q(ui) e(t)*, *s's' = s(supra) s(criptus)*; the punctum is used three times (see app. crit. on ll. 17, 34, and 35).

Subsequently the verso was used for a list of names. This list, which will be published in a later volume, was written in the Oxyrhynchite nome and refers once to a Marias (col. iv, 3). Almost certainly, considering the rarity of the name (see below, note to l. 8), this Marias is to be identified with the seller, who, possibly after his discharge from the army, settled in Oxyrhynchus.

I am more than usually indebted to Professor H. C. Youtie and Dr J. Rea for assistance in the editing of this text.

↓ [evicerit quominus empt]orem herede[m]ve e]i[us uti frui]  
[habere possidere usu]ue capere recte lice[re]a[t, tunc quantum]  
[id erit quod evictum fuerit, si]m[plam pecuniam ta]ntam . . . .]  
[ c. 10 sine denuncia]tione probam recte da[ri c. 7 ]  
5 [ c. 18 ] . [q]uo de agitur vendere di[ . . . ] . [ . . . ]  
[ c. 15 quo]uo modo voluerit stipulatus est  
Aureli[us] A[pollo]ni[us] optio emptor s(supra) s(criptus), spondit Barsimes  
Bass[us] dec(urio) . . . . ne filio suo Maria Barsime <e> numero s(supra) s(cripto).  
vendi-  
tor et secundus auctor Ruphus Abedsai optio et suo periculo  
10 esse dixerunt. edidit i[de]m venditor emptori s(supra) s(cripto) pristina  
strumenta in nomine . . . . ta in Pelusio de anno xiii Gallieno  
a . . . [ c. 15 ] de Gai Iuli Iuliani Nemesioni q(ui) e(t) Sereni  
a . . . a . . . . . ranum introitu Gerri Pelusi de tradito  
anno mense Thoth die iii, et alia pristina instrumenta.  
15 actum in hibe[rnis] leg(ionis) ii Traiana Fort(is) Germ(anicae) Gallienae vii  
Kal(endas) Iun(ias)  
Paterno et Arcesilao coss, anno xiiii Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Pupli  
Licin[ni] G[er]m[anici] Max(im)i Persici Max(im)i Pii Felic(is) Aug(usti)  
mense Payni die i. (m. 2) . die . . Max(im)i Persici M(a)x(im)i

(m. 3) *Μαρίας Βαρσίμις Σαλαράτος ἀριθμοῦ καταφράκτων, δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ*  
20 *πατρὸς κατέχοντος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς χηρῆς κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμέων νόμου[ς],*  
*Βαρσίμις Βάσκος δεκάδαρχου εἴληξ τῆς αὐτῆς, πέπρακα τῷ Ἀυρηλίῳ*  
*Ἀπολλωνίῳ ὀπτίωνει τὴν δούλην Νίκην ἐπικεκλημένην*  
*μετεθεν, γένι Ἀράβισσαν, ἀπλῶ χρήματι καὶ οὖσαν ἐκτὸς εἰεράς*  
*νόσου [κα]ὶ ἐπα[φ]ῆς, τεμμῆς ἀργυρίου δηναρίων διςχιλίων διακοσίω[ν]*  
25 *πεντήκοντα Πτολομαικῶν καὶ ἀπέσ[χο]ν τῆ[ν τ]ιμῆ[ν] παρ' αὐτοῦ*  
*καὶ ἀνέδωκα τὰς ἀσφαλείας, καὶ ἐπερωτιθεὶς ὡμολόγησα [ὡς]*  
*πρόκειται. Ῥούφος Ἀβεδαί ὀπτίων ἀριθμοῦ τῶν Σαλαράτων περιεργή[νων]*

*ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰτότος, τῆς χηρὸς α[ὐτοῦ]*  
*κατεχομένης, καὶ βεβεῶ τὴν δούλην Νίκην ἐπικαικλημένην*  
30 *Σαπρίκων, καὶ <ἐ>περωτιθεὶς ὁμολόγησα ὡς πρόκειται.*  
(m. 4) *Βαρσίμις Βάσκος δεκάδαρχος πέπρακα καὶ ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμὴν καὶ*  
*ὡμολόγη-*  
*σα ὡς πρόκειται.*

(m. 5) Aurelius Heraclianus q(ui) e(t) Macarius eq(ues) Romanus  
conductor librariae

kastorum leg(ionis) s(supra) s(criptae) accep . [ .  
35 . çoh i aug p[an]n . . . Galli[  
nus[ . . . ] . . . . . ]

7 s(supra) s(criptus): s's', and so throughout 8 space for 1 letter after *dec* 9 l. Rufus.  
Space for 1 letter after *optio* 12 q(ui) e(t): q'e' (cf. 33) 15 Iun(ias): iun' 16 Space for  
1 letter after *coss* 17 Felic(is): felic' 19 Σαλαράτος ἀριθμοῦ: read by Dr J. Rea 20 l.  
χηρῆς, Ῥωμαίων 21 l. Βαρσίμιος Βάσκου 22 l. ὀπτίωνι (the last stroke of the nu was used for  
the first stroke of the epsilon) 23 l. γένει, ἰεράς; εἰεράς 24 Space after *επαφῆς*. l. τιμῆς  
25 l. Πτολομαικῶν 26 l. ἀσφαλείας, ἐπερωτηθεὶς 27 l. πρόκειται, περιεργῶν 28 l. εἰτότος,  
χηρὸς 29 l. βεβαῶ, ἐπικεκλημένην 30 l. ἐπερωτηθεὶς, ὡμολόγησα, πρόκειται 32 l. πρό-  
κειται 33 q(ui) e(t): q'e' eq(ues): eq' librariae: read by Dr J. Rea 34 l. castrorum.  
Raised dot before accep.[ 35 Raised dot before aug.

'(And if anyone shall lay claim to the girl [or woman] so that) the buyer or his heir may not rightfully use, enjoy, have, possess and acquire her by usucaption, then Aurelius Apollonius, optio, the aforesaid buyer, has asked that as much as shall have been claimed, so much money and no more . . . without previous notification shall be duly given in good coin . . . in whatever way he shall wish, and Barsimes Bassus, decurion, has promised to do so, on behalf of (?) his son, Marias Barsimes of the above-mentioned unit. The seller and his surety, Rufus Abedsai, optio, have said that they also assume responsibility. The seller has also handed over to the aforesaid buyer the previous documents in the name . . . at Pelusium in year 13 of (?) Gallienus . . . of Gaius Julius Julianus to Nemesion also called Serenus . . . in the entrance to Gerrum at Pelusium in the aforesaid year, the 4th day of the month Thoth (and has handed over) other previous documents. Done in the winter quarters of the legio II Traiana Fortis Germanica Galliena 7 days before the Calends of June in the consulship of Paternus and Arcesilaus, year 14 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Persicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, the 1st day of the month Payni . . .

(3rd hand) 'I, Marias Barsimis, Salaratus, of a (?) unit of cataphracts (acting through me, his father, who have him *in manu* in accordance with the laws of the Romans, Barsimis Bassus, decurion of the same squadron), have sold to Aurelius Apollonius, optio, the slave Nice also called metethen (?), an Arab by race, without warranty and being free from epilepsy and leprosy, at the price of two thousand two hundred and fifty silver Ptolemaic denarii, and I have received the price from him and have given over the documents, and in answer to the question I have made acknowledgement, as is aforesaid.

'I, Rufus Abedsai, optio, of the numerus Salaratorum Peregrinorum, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate, his hand being held, and I guarantee the slave Nice also called Sapricion, and in answer to the question I have made acknowledgement, as is aforesaid.

(4th hand) 'I, Barsimis Bassus, decurion, have made the sale and have received the price and have made acknowledgement, as is aforesaid.

(5th hand) 'I, Aurelius Heraclianus, also called Macarius, eques Romanus, contractor for the writing office (?) of the camp of the aforesaid legion. . .'

1-2 Before *evicerit* the text probably had something like 'et si quis eam puellam (or: mulierem) partemve quam eius' etc. Cf. *Negotia* 132, 7-8; 87, 8-10; 88, 7-8; 89, 6-8. For the supplements in the first two lines, up to *usuque capere*, cf. *Negotia* 88, 8-10; 89, 8-10; 90, 7-10; 139 pag. iv.

*heredem*: last letter is more likely to be an *m* than an *s*; cf. *Negotia* 94, 6; 95, 20.

2-3 For the supplement after *liceat*, cf. *Negotia* 88, 11 'tunc quantum id erit, quod ita ex eo evictum fuerit'; also 140, 58-9. As set out in the text the supplement is at least 5 letters too long, and was probably abbreviated.

4 *sine denuntia[t]ione*: i.e. 'without previous notification'; = *χωρίς παραγγελίας*. See Meyer, *Juristische Pap.* p. 125; Lenel, *Das Edictum Perpetuum*, p. 568 n. 18. The same phrase occurs in *Negotia* 132, 9.

5 The letter before [q]uo is either *s* or *c*; the latter seems more likely. Perhaps *mancipium ho*[c]? After *di*[. .] all that remains is a stroke extending obliquely from the left down into the next line; it can be *l*, *h*, or (less likely) *k*.

7 *Barsimes*: cf. *Βαρσίμου* (gen.) in H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griech. Inschr. u. Pap.* s.v.; *Barsemis* in CIL III 10307.

8 *Bass[us]*: for the nominative, see P. Dura, p. 60, bottom.

. . . *ne*: possibly <in> *νομίη*, in spite of the bad grammar. (I owe this suggestion to Dr J. Rea.) *Maria*: the nominative is *Marias* (see line 19); in published papyri the name occurs elsewhere only in P. Dura 18, 32; 19, 19 (see p. 59); P. Bad. IV 93, 47.

<e> *numero*: for numeri catafractariorum, see Eadie, *JRS* LVII (1967), pp. 168-9.

9 *secundus auctor*: i.e. *fideiussor*; see *Negotia*, pp. 288 n. 7; 426 n. 5; Schulten, *Hermes* xxxii (1897), p. 283.

*Abedsai*: for this Semitic name, cf. *Ἀβιτσαῖος* in P. Dura 31, 58, and see H. Ingholt, 'Parthian Sculptures from Hatra', *Memoirs of the Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sci.* XII (1954), p. 26 n. 6.

*et suo periculo*: *et* here = 'also'. Though the precise wording is lost, it is clear from line 8 that Barsimes Bassus agrees to act for his son and hence assumes legal responsibility. The actual *venditor*, *Marias*, and the *secundus auctor* here acknowledge that they *too* will be responsible for the transaction.

10-14 In this section *Marias* appears to be proving ownership by giving the former deeds of conveyance to the buyer. Two transactions seem to be mentioned: one took place some time in the 13th year of Gallienus (A.D. 265/6), the other on Thoth 4 of that year (= 1 Sept. A.D. 265).

11 *strumenta*: for the spelling, cf. 14 below and see *TLL* s.v. *instrumentum* (init.); *Negotia* 139, pag. v (sub fin.).

[. .] *ta*: it would be tempting to read *ῥ[uo] ἄττα*, but unless the writing is crowded there is hardly room for it.

*de anno*: here and in 13 *de* seems to be used where the bare ablative would be expected. This may be an extension of the use of *de* in such phrases as *de nocte*, where its force is weakened; see Lewis and Short, s.v. *de* B. 2; *TLL* s.v. *de* coll. 64-5; 'starting with or at (a point of time)', Oxf. Lat. Dict. s.v. *de* 4.

*Gallieno*: probably a mistake for *Gallieni*; cf. n. to line 12, *Sereni*. A consular date, which *Gallieno* implies, is not expected here.

12 *a*. . . [: possibly *Αυγου[sto]*.

*Nemesioni*: this dative may mean that something like *data fide* was written before *Gai Iuli Iuliani*.

*Sereni*: probably to be corrected to *Sereno*. Possibly the name ran over to the next line, but I have not succeeded in reading anything suitable, such as *Sereni[ano]*.

13 *Gerris*: a fort near Pelusium, perhaps to be identified with Mehemdiah (Kees, *RE* XIX 1 s.v. Pelusium, col. 413, 6; 414, 12). The name occurs in various spellings, e.g. *Γέρρα*, *Γέρρας*, *Γέρρον*; see Pieper, *RE* VII 1 s.v. *Gerrha* (4), col. 1272, 66.

15 *in hibe[rniis]*: the winter quarters of the legio II Traiana were in Alexandria; see Ritterling, *RE* XII 2 s.v. legio, col. 1487, 18.

*Germ(anicae)*: Lesquier, *L'Armée d'Égypte*, pp. 69 seqq., notes that this legion acquired its surname *Germanica* under Marcus Aurelius.

*Gallienae*: cf. *PSI* v 465, 7-8 and introd.; *RE* XII 2 s.v. legio, col. 1489, 46.

18 The 2nd hand is a series of illiterate scratches, imitating parts of lines 17 and 18.

19-21 The punctuation and interpretation of these lines were suggested by Professor Youtie.

19 *Βαρσίμους*: the Latin has *Barsimes*. Similar interchanges of *e* and *iota* are seen, e.g., in *senator* *ανάτωρ*, *campestre κάμπυτρον*, *tremissis τριμίσιον*, cited by Daris, 'Lessico Latino', *Aegyptus* XL (1960), pp. 177 seqq. s. vv.

*Χαλαράτος*: see below, n. to line 27.

20 *ὑπὸ τῆ χειρὶ* (i.e. *χειρὶ*): = *in manu* (see 1208 6 n.). Cf. 1268 9 n. 'the fact that a person *ὑπὸ τῆ χειρὶ* was at the same time an owner of property shows that the *patria potestas* was not strictly interpreted in Egypt'. See also Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, p. 146.

21 *Βαρσίμους*: for the genitive ending *-uc* instead of *-uc* see D. J. Georgacas, *CP* XLIII (1948), pp. 243 seqq.

23 *μετεθεν*: the name of the slave is given in two forms:

22-3 *Νίκην ἐπικεκλημένην μετεθεν*

29-30 *Νίκην ἐπικεκλημένην Καπρίκων*.

I can offer no convincing explanation for the discrepancy. Possibly *μετεθεν* was meant as a translation of *Καπρίκων*, which may (as Professor G. W. Bowersock informs me) represent the Arabic s-r-r 'to travel'. *μετεθεν*, the aorist passive participle of *μεθίημι*, could mean 'sent away, allowed to depart' and thus be brought, with a little imagination, into the sphere of meaning of s-r-r. But Professor Youtie points out that *μεθίημι* 'can hardly be associated with the Greek we read in papyri. The *Wörterbuch* has no listing of it. It is in fact attested only in SB III 6944, 16 (edict of Hadrian, where it pertains to the remission of rents).' The attempt to interpret *μετεθεν* as a Semitic name, turned into Greek as *Καπρίκων*, has been even less successful. Under the circumstances we must admit that both the form and meaning of *μετεθεν* are obscure.

*ἀπλῶ χρήματι*: '*Ἀπλῶ χρήματι* does not belong . . . to the personal description of slaves, but means that the slaves have been sold *simpliciter venditione*, i.e. without warranty', Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, p. 483. This phrase refers to defects and is probably not connected with the *simpliciter pecunia* mentioned above in the eviction clause (cf. *ibid.* n. 5).

23-4 *ἐιράς* (i.e. *ιερᾶς*) *νόσου*: epilepsy (Pringsheim, *op. cit.* p. 467).

24 [ἐπα]φήης: *ἐπαφή* in this context refers to leprosy and not, as was once thought, to eviction; Pringsheim, *op. cit.* pp. 465 seqq.

24-5 *δηναρίων*. . . *Πτολεμαϊκῶν*: the only reference to Ptolemaic denarii. Dr Michael Crawford writes: 'It seems likely (*pace* 2587 introd. and bibliography there cited) that terms such as 'Augustan', 'Ptolemaic', 'old Ptolemaic', 'old' or 'new' are all no more than conventional terms intended to express the hope that the coinage which they describe is good; there are two possible explanations of what has happened here - either *Marias Barsimes* has put denarii in the contract, because in Mesopotamia denarii and drachmae were interchangeable, or denarius has been used to denote tetradrachm, which was a common practice (West and Johnson, *Currency*, 72; 1414, however, is there misinterpreted and 1718 is doubtless post-Diocletianic).'

26 *ἀνέδωκα κτλ.*: cf. *PSI* VII 823, 3 *ἀνέδωκεν μὲν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀνέλαβεν διὰ τὴν ὑπερ[.]*

27 *ἀριθ(μοῦ) τῶν Καλαράτων περιεργήγων*: no numerus of this name is listed by Rowell, *RE* XVII 2, 2537 seqq. *Καλαράτος*, which occurs only here and in line 19, may be synonymous with *salariarius* or it may be (despite the morphology) an ethnological adj., possibly referring to Salarus, a river in Carmania (see *RE* 2. Reihe II, col. 1848). For numeri in general, see H. Callies, 'Die fremden Truppen im römischen Heer des Principatus und die sogenannten nationalen Numeri', 45. *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* (1964), pp. 130 seqq.

28-9 These lines seem to mean that *Marias* wrote only with great difficulty and had to have his hand guided by Rufus *Abedsai*. I know of no parallel to the phrase *τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ κατεχομένης*. Cf. H. C. Youtie, *GRBS* XII (1971) pp. 239 ff.

30 *Καπρίκων*: since feminine names in *-ων* are very numerous and the reduction of *-ων* to *-ω* is of frequent occurrence (cf. above, note to line 21), the slave's name is more likely to be *Καπρίκων* than *Καπρίκος*. The masculine *Καπρίκος* is listed in *Namenbuch* from CPR XIX, 6; and Professor Youtie informs me of its occurrence in *Stud. Pal.* xx 86, 6.

31 *πέπρακα*: of the use of the word in this context Professor Youtie writes: 'The father Barsimes

Bassus adds his subscription, using also the verb *πέπρακα*, because he has in effect carried through the sale. This . . . is not unknown. I can't put my hand at this moment on a published example, but there is one from an unpublished petition of 329 A.D. from Panopolis (P. Colon. inv. 1697) submitted *παρά Αὐρηλίου Σεμίουρου Σανενώτου δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Σανενώτου Βησαῖ πατρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ καὶ ἔχοντος αὐτὴν ὑποχειρίαν ἀπὸ Πανὸς πόλεως*. There is only one subscription: *Αὐρηλιος Σανενῶς ὁ προκ(ε)ιμενος ἐπιδέδωκα ὡς πρόκειται*.

33 *conductor*: the *conductores*, according to Lesquier, *Armée*, pp. 229–30, were connected with the leasing out of parcels of land to soldiers on active duty. Here, however, the effective parallel is P. Lond. 229 = *Negotia* 132 reedited by R. Marichal, *ChLA* iii 200, l. 30 *μ]εθωτῆς κινητ[α]ν[η]c* (= *conductor quintanae* according to Marichal). No parallel has been found for this use of *libraria*. For *librarius* see Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 37 and 73.

34 *accep* . [ : the doubtful letter looks like *t* and probably *accep*[*or* should be read.

35 *coh i aug p[an]n*: before *coh* there is a vertical stroke which may not have been intended as a letter. If *p[an]n* is correctly read, we have a reference to the *cohortes I Augusta Pannoniorum* which was active in Egypt from the first century; according to the *Notitia Dignitatum Or.* 28, 41, it was located at Thou in Lower Egypt (see Lesquier, *op. cit.* p. 93; van Berchem, *L'Armée de Dioclétien*, p. 64).

## 2952. BILINGUAL JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

18 2B. 65/C(1–2)c

12.5 × 24 cm.

A.D. 315?

The papyrus preserves the extreme left-hand side of a column from the record of a trial held before Julianus, *vir perfectissimus, agens vices praefectorum praetorio*. Except for a few words of the Greek dialogue all that is left are the Latin phrases introducing the statements of Julianus. The complete text must have resembled P. Lips. 40 in its form.<sup>1</sup> Despite its imperfect state, the papyrus is of interest, since the judge is perhaps to be identified with Julius Julianus, grandfather of the emperor Julian, who is known to have been praefect of Egypt in A.D. 314 and praefectus praetorio under Licinius (see PLRE I Julianus 35). He may have held the latter office as early as 28 April 315;<sup>2</sup> if so, he was *agens vices praefectorum praetorio* some time before that date and after his prefecture of Egypt, in accordance with the regular hierarchy.<sup>3</sup>

The Latin is written in a rapid and unpretentious cursive with a pronounced slope to the right. The same hand wrote the Greek.

On the far left of the sheet are traces of two lines of a preceding column; they are located opposite lines 8 and 9 respectively of col. ii: 8] .αι 9] .ντουτο. On the back is a badly damaged and faded account in Greek, written in a hand contemporary with that of the front.

<sup>1</sup> For similar texts and for the relevant bibliography, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse*, p. 160. See also R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri, passim*.

<sup>2</sup> The date 28 April comes from Optatus of Mileve (CSEL xxvi), appendix viii, a letter from Julianus and his colleague in the praetorian prefecture to Domitius Celsus, vicarius of Africa. The letter is dated III Kal. Maias Tiberis, year unspecified. PLRE assigns it to 315 (see Domitius Celsus 8). But the dating is not secure, and Seeck was perhaps right in arguing that the text was drawn up in February of 316 (see *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* x (1888–9), pp. 551–2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lallemand, *op. cit.* p. 243; A. H. M. Jones, *History of the Later Roman Empire* I, p. 143.

- I[ul]ianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)  
κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ[θ]
- 5 Ἀμμωνιε . . . [
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- 10 Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio) ei d(ixit) . . . [
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
p[raet](orio) p[raet](orio) d(ixit) κελευσα . [
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio) ad off(icium) d(ixit) α . [
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio) ei d(ixit) ουκ . . . [
- αυτ . . . . P . . . . [
- 15 Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio) ei d(ixit)[
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)[
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio) ei d(ixit)[
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
p[raet](orio) p[raet](orio)
- 20 Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)[
- Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
praef(ectorum) p[raet](orio)[  
θαυ κινδυνευ[

Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
 praef(ectorum)[  
 Iulianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices)  
 pra[ef(ectorum)]

1 ὑπάβ praeff and so throughout 9 praett, 10 đ and so throughout 12 ofł 21 praet[t  
 23 praef[f.

9 *praett*. For the abbreviation cf. ILS 619. *Praet* is expected; in the present papyrus and in ILS 619 the writers may have thought that the plural of *praefectus praetorio* was *praefecti praetorius*. On the other hand, *praett* may simply be a careless form of abbreviation, cf. Cagnat, *Épigraphie latine*, p. 372.

10 *ei*: the other records of judicial proceedings do not employ a dative before *dixit*, unless it be read in P. Lips. 40 ii 9, where the editor reads 'Hermaion curat(or) e(?) d(ixit)', and iii 7 'Senecion superstat(ionarius?) e(?) d(ixit)'.

12 *ad off(icium)*: cf. P. Lips. 40 iii 20. For the *officium* of the *vicarius* see Jones, *History of the Later Roman Empire* II, pp. 565-6.

14 *avr* . . . . *p* . . . . [*p* might perhaps be a Greek rho. But the penultimate trace is an oblique descender, which suits the tail of *q* but suggests no Greek letter at all. It seems likely, then, that 14 contains at least one word in Latin: presumably the name (and perhaps title) of the other party in the exchange. For the arrangement, in which each paragraph contains a pair of utterances, compare P. Herm. Rees 18. 5 ff. (though there the introductory phrases too are in Greek).

## 2953. MILITARY NOTE

23 3B. 11/C(1-2)b

9.9 × 7 cm.

Between A.D. 293 and 305

This small piece of papyrus exhibits a graceful, semi-cursive hand which resembles P. Amh. 11 26, though the latter is less carefully written. Noteworthy are the Graecized *a* resembling alpha made in a single movement, *e* resembling epsilon made in two movements, the rounded *m* and *n*. The document, which appears to be complete, was folded five times from right to left. The back is blank.

The text deals with the ala I Hiberorum Diocletiana Maximiana Constantiana Maximiana, stationed in Thmou, a fort about four miles up the Nile from Panopolis (see P. Beatty Panop. 2 37 n. and *Notitia Dignitatum Or.* xxxi 'ala prima Hiberorum, Thmou'). The imperial epithets indicate the period between the accession of the Caesars Constantius and Galerius in A.D. 293 and the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in A.D. 305.

What the exact purpose of the text was is not at all clear. Its basic structure appears to be 'matrix alae. . . Sarapioni (centurioni)'. If *matrix* has its normal military significance, it should be the equivalent of *matricula*, the term for a unit roster.<sup>1</sup> The present papyrus may be a note accompanying such a roster, which, for some unspecified reason, had been sent to a centurion.

<sup>1</sup> For *matrix* used in the sense of *matricula* see *TLL* VIII s.v. I. C; cf. Watson, *JRS* XLII (1952), p. 60 and n. 28, who points out that *matricula* does not appear in our sources before the middle of the fourth century; *matrix*, however, is attested earlier, e.g. in Tertullian, *De fuga in persec.* 13.

→ matrix alae primae  
 Hiberorum Diocletianae  
 Maximianae Constantianae  
 Maximianae agent(is) in  
 5 castris Thmo . . . . a.  
 Sarapioni (m. 2?) (centurioni) ord(inato)

4 agent· 6 7 ord·

4 *agent(is)*: *ago* is often used in reference to a unit's location, cf. e.g. *AÉ* (1920), no. 47 (*centurio vex(illationis) Brit(tonum) Volubili agentium*).

5 There is a dot at mid level after *Thmo* which might be punctuation. On the other hand the next letter could well be *u* and the spelling *Thmou* appears in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, see introd. The place appears in Greek as *Θμόω* in P. Beatty Panop. 2 37; for other variations see the note there.

At the end of the line one might read *Val(erio)*; the first letter, though damaged, is quite similar to the *u* in *Hiberorum*, while the *l*, though it resembles *g*, could be regarded as a modification of the form seen in *Diocletiana*. The gentilicium *Valerius* was regularly assumed by the military at this time to honour the house of Diocletian, see P. Mich. x 592-3 introd.

6 (*centurioni*): on the abbreviation, see e.g. P. Mich. VII 444 2 n.; x 592 ii 3.

*ord(inato)*: the synonym *ord(inario)* is also possible, though less common (P. Dura 82, introd. p. 271 n. 9). For the meaning see Gilliam, *TAPA* LXXI (1940), pp. 127-48. Though stylistically similar to the rest of the text, (*centurioni ord(inato)* is written in larger, more sprawling letters; it also slants downward as opposed to the upward slant which characterizes the script up to *Sarapioni*. Either a second hand wrote (*centurioni ord(inato)* or else the words were added later by the first hand.

## V. GREEK OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

## 2954. EDICT OF AVIDIUS HELIODORUS

26 3B. 51/G(2-3)c

(1) 15 × 10.5 cm. (2) 11.5 × 10.3 cm

Third century

These two fragments contain on the verso, in two columns and all in the same hand, a series of copies of various official documents, apparently from a collection of material on a particular legal issue. The first column is much damaged: its lower half has almost entirely disappeared (see 36-7 n.) and only the ends of lines survive in its upper half; this may have been a rescript or edict. The first fourteen lines of the second column preserve effectively intact an edict of the prefect Gaius Avidius Heliodorus on the subject of joint-owned property. The break between the two fragments separates this from the following entry, most probably an extract from an official letter, concerning the same topic as Heliodorus' edict preceding. It is not certain that this last entry (ll. 26-40) follows directly on ll. 12-25 (Heliodorus' edict), but l. 26 can be interpreted as the beginning of the section and there appears to have been a space above it, so that I have treated ll. 25 and 26 as consecutive. There is a trace of ink on a single vertical fibre projecting above l. 26, at the top of fr. 2, which if so will derive from the end of Heliodorus' edict on fr. 1 (either l. 24 or l. 25). The two pieces have an unusual configuration when so placed, but the position of a kollema-join and the alignment of writing on both verso and recto (see below) and of the right edge (verso side) of the papyrus all combine to support it. The shape of the fragments makes accurate comparison of the vertical fibres over a light-table difficult.

On the recto are the beginnings of thirty lines of a third-century document concerning a sale of land (published below as 2989). The break between the two fragments here separates ll. 15 and 16. No date survives but the parties are Aurelii. The hand is a neat cursive. That of the verso is a sloping cursive which is to be assigned to the third century even without the recto evidence.

The above account supersedes what was said in *Proc. XII Congress of Papyrology* (Michigan, 1968), pp. 85-7.

The edict of Heliodorus in col. ii, 12-25, concerns the rights of those owning shares in joint-owned property to dispose of their shares. It appears to cover both *communio pro diviso* and *communio pro indiviso* (i.e., where each part-owner's rights are over a specific portion of the joint-held property (*pro diviso*) or where all the part-owners have equal rights over all the property (*pro indiviso*): see Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 239 seqq.), although the only specific reference (34-5) is to *communio pro indiviso*. The effect of the edict is to give thirty days' exclusive rights of purchase to the partners of the prospective vendor, followed by a further thirty days' priority shared by the partners with the neighbours. This is at variance with the situation in Roman law, as far as *communio pro indiviso* is concerned, where the part-owner had unimpeded rights of disposal of his share (see Taubenschlag, op. cit. p. 242 with note 13, and his *Röm. Privatrecht* 246 (= *Opera Minora*

1 133-4) there cited). *Communio pro diviso* was not recognized by Roman law (Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, p. 240) following the principle of *superficies solo cedit*, the 'part-owner' being considered either as the full owner or as a part-owner in a *communio pro indiviso* but in either case having full rights of disposal of his share; nevertheless the situation was recognized in practice in Roman Egypt. See Weiss, *Arch.* iv (1908), pp. 330 seqq., with 347-51 on the part-owner's rights of disposal and the possibility of priority given to *κοινωνοί*, a possibility now confirmed by the present edict. The priority given by the edict to *γέτρος* (20) is the first formal statement of what was implied in BGU 830 (Taubenschlag, *Röm. Privatrecht*, cited above), PSI 1259 and P. Madrid 11 (the last two discussed by Youtie, *CdÉ* XLII (1967), pp. 384 seqq., especially 390).

A point of interest is the date given for Heliodorus' edict (ll. 12-25), namely Thoth 10, 21st year of Hadrian = 7 September A.D. 136. This is earlier than the latest accepted date for Heliodorus' predecessor Mamertinus (26 May 137, from *SB* 7367), the next earliest date for Heliodorus being 21 October 137 (from PSI 1262: that Heliodorus directly succeeded Mamertinus is likely from P. Ryl. 678). I discussed this question in a paper presented to the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology at the University of Michigan in August 1968: I give here only a summary of my main points. In the light of 2954 the evidence for Mamertinus' tenure after 7 September 136 was re-examined. The dating of Heliodorus to September 136 was rejected because of P. Würzb. 9, 60-5, supported by 2413, 21-2 which indicates that Mamertinus held office at some time in the 21st year; but it was suggested that *SB* 7367 could be dated to 136, so that it would no longer be the *terminus post quem* for Mamertinus' tenure. Conjecturally, I suggested that the date of 2954, if not completely wrong, could be changed to 22 Hadrian = 7 September 137, which would be a new *terminus ante quem* for Heliodorus' tenure.

Hadrian's reign of course terminated in his 22nd year. This correction presupposes an error in the original exemplar, since the third-century scribe of 2954 would have little reason to make the error on his own account. Such failure to change the year-figure at the change to the new year finds a probable parallel in P. Lond. 935 (III, p. 29). Professor C. B. Welles also kindly called my attention to P. Dura 29. It was proposed on the basis of 2413 that the 21st year finished with Mamertinus still in office, and that there was thus a possibility that the transference of office should be placed between 28 August and 7 September 137.

I am grateful to Professor H. C. Youtie for a valuable discussion on the content of Heliodorus' edict.

↓

Col. i

]79[	]
]ε[	]
]...[	]...[
]...[	]...[

5 [. . .] χρη . [ . ] να [ ]  
 ] μειου κ [ . . ] . ε [ ]  
 ] . γουμεν δ του . . . ο υς  
 -] δέξῃς οὐκ ἐλά[cc?] ονα  
 ] . . υκυκοφαντηκεναι  
 10 ] φεντων τιμωρία  
 ε] ν ' Αλεξ[α] νδρεία

## Col. ii

Γάι[ο]ς [ Αου] διος ' Ηλιόδωρος ἑπαρχος  
 Αίγυ[πτο] ν λέγει . ὁρῶ πολλοὺς ἐν-  
 τυγ[χά] νοντάς μοι περὶ τῶν πι-  
 15 πρασκομένων κοινωνιέων  
 κτημάτων ἄνευ τῆς τῶν κοι-  
 νωνῶν γνώμης . εἰ μὴ πρότε-  
 ρον διὰ μεταδο[ς] ἰμων μεταδῶ  
 τοῖς μὲν κοινωνοῖς ἐν ἡμέραις  
 20 ἐξήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ γείτοσι ἐν ἡ-  
 μέραις τρ[ιά] κοντα, ὅς ἐὰν πω-  
 λήσῃ μὴ μεταδοὺς αὐτοῖς στερη-  
 θήσεται καὶ τῆς τιμῆς χωρὶς τοῦ  
 ἐπιπληχθῆναι . (ἔτους) κα" ' Αδριανοῦ  
 25 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Θῶθ ι' .  
 (Papyrus broken)  
 [ c. 13 ] ος στρ(ατηγ-) . [ ]  
 [ c. 7 ] . ρ . . . [ . . ] . ' Αμμ[ωνι-]  
 [ c. 7 ] αμ . . . . . πεμφθη [ ]  
 [ c. 7 ] . α . . ε ι . ων αἰτιῶν-  
 30 [ται? ? Διονύ] ριον ' Ἐλληνίωνος  
 [ c. 6 ] . αντα καὶ αν . . . εικαν [ ]  
 πρ[ὸς? ? Δ] ημητρίαν ' Ανδρομάχου  
 αν . [ . . ] ντου μέρος πατρώας  
 οἰκίας ἣν φησιν κωήν καὶ ἀδιαί-  
 35 ρετον εἶναι ἀποδεδοῦσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ τοι-

οὔτου κεκωλυμένου, φρόντισον τῆν  
 τειμῆν ἣν καλῆ πίστι ὁ Διονύσιος ἐξω[[δ]]-  
 διάξεν ἔμελλεν ἀριθμοῦντι τῷ ' Αμμω-  
 νίω παραδοθῆναι τὸ μέρος.  
 40 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς . . ( )

6 Space before κ 15 l. κοινωνιέων 29 Form of first a suggests final letter. After εἰ, c or δ? 37 l. πίστει, ἐξοδιάξεν

(Ll. 12-25) 'Gaius Avidius Heliodorus, prefect of Egypt, says: I see that many people are petitioning me concerning joint-owned property which is being sold without the consent of the joint-owners. Unless he first communicates with the joint-owners by notices not less than sixty days beforehand, and with his neighbours not less than thirty days beforehand, whosoever sells without communicating with them shall be deprived of the price as well, apart from being punished. The 21st year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Thoth 10.'

(Ll. 33-40) ' . . . a share in a paternally bequeathed house, which he says is held in common and undivided, has been sold to him although such a transaction is prohibited, see that the share is transferred to Ammonius on his paying the price which Dionysius in good faith intended to pay. Etcetera . . .'

1 Is this the top line? No ink remains on the fragmentary scrap of papyrus above this.

9 The letter before κυκοφαντ- is quite clear, and is the normal way in which υ is written. It should be noted, however, that initial ε in ἑπαρχος ii 12 and ἐπιπληχθῆναι ii 24 are formed similarly. The preceding traces are indeterminate but do not favour c. The possibilities are (1) simple error <cc>κυκοφαντηκεναι; (2) suppression of reduplication κυκοφαντηκεναι, Mayser I 2 107; (3) the form ἐκυκοφαντηκεναι, Mayser I 2 111; (4) articulation . . υ κυκοφάντη κεναί.

10 Οἱ τιμωρία.

11 Supplement προετέθη ε] ν ' Αλεξ[α] νδρεία? The line is approximately level with ii 25. The papyrus breaks too soon for a judgment whether l. 11 is the end of a section.

15 κοινωνιέως: WB attests no example of this word earlier than the sixth century.

22 A mark beyond the end of this line is probably not significant.

24 Read κβ? See the Introduction.

26 The last letter is just a trace. Possibly 'Ο[ξυρυγχείτου (abbreviated)?

27 Cf. lines 38-9.

29-30 αἰτιῶνται; or αἰτιῶν (preceded by a participle (-εῖων) in agreement)? If from αἰτιόμαι, the form αἰτιῶνται seems inevitable, since the active does not occur: the one supposed example (1032. 51) is fallacious, re-examination of the text in the Bodleian showing that the correct reading is αἰτιᾶ. With αἰτιῶν the lacuna at the beginning of 30 remains part open: πρὸς perhaps? τόν would be structurally insufficient.

30 'Ἐλληνίωνος read tentatively by Dr Rea. I have not found it attested as a name, but I have no alternative reading to offer.

36-7 In the left margin level with these lines are the finishing strokes from two lines of the first column.

40 I am at a loss over the abbreviation at the end of the line.

2955. JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS BEFORE BASILIANUS,  
PRAEFECTUS AEGYPTI

27 3B. 41/A(1-2)a

26 × 23 cm.

A.D. 218?

This text provides the first attestation in the papyri of the prefecture of Basilianus. Four joining fragments combine to give most of the left-hand three-quarters of a sheet

which contained in one wide column an extract (made after Basilianus' prefecture, see 1) from the prefectural records, namely the proceedings in a dispute over some property. The script is a good official type: the back is blank except for some blots of ink.

A duplicate copy (40 5B. 116/G (13-16) c) of this papyrus, in the same hand (but smaller and less formal) and with lines of more or less the same capacity, preserves parts of thirteen lines from the lower left corner. The text below is based on the more substantially preserved copy with supplements (from 7 on) drawn from the duplicate where possible; parts occurring in the duplicate are underlined.

The date in 2 is an embarrassment in this otherwise straightforward document. The defeat of Macrinus (not his death) took place on 8 June (?) (Reinmuth, *BASP* IV (1967), p. 112 requires correction) 218 (Dio 78. 39. 1), while Elagabalus will have dated his reign from his *dies imperii* on 16 May (Dio 78. 31. 4), so that Pharmouthi 11 (6 April) in his first year is an impossible date. Conceivably Pharmouthi was written in error, although this makes the possibilities very open. Changing *ἔτους α* to *ἔτους β*, i.e. 6 April 219, is unacceptable because Basilianus is said to have fled from Egypt on Macrinus' defeat (Dio 78. 35. 2-3), and so is hardly likely to have still been in office so late. Perhaps the solution is to suppose that the copyist, faced with a document dated under Macrinus and yet perhaps being unwilling to acknowledge his reign, without raising the question of a different date for the commencement of Elagabalus' reign but working simply from the fact of his first year ending in August 218, arbitrarily as it were extended his reign backwards so as to include the date in question.

→ Ἐξ [ὁ]πομνηματισμοῦ [B]ασιλιανοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος.  
 ἔτους α' Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου, Φαρμουθι ια. Θέων ῥήτωρ εἶπεν.  
 ± 6 Σαρα-  
 πιακὸν λέγω. Νεμεσίων ῥήτωρ εἶπεν· παραγράφομαι εἰ τὴν ἔκκλητον λέγεις  
 δί[κην? ± 14]  
 μὲν ἐκείνη ὁ ἀρχιδικαστὴς παρέδωκεν ἡμεῖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. οὐκ ἐξεκαλέσατο  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχιδι-?  
 5 καστὴν ἀκολούθως οἷς ἀπεφλήνατο. μ]εθ' ἕτερα· Θέων ῥήτωρ εἶπεν·  
 δημόσιον [± 11 βιβλιο-?]  
 φύλακές μοι συνεχρημάτια[ν ± 4]. θα. . ν καταλαμβάνοντι τὸν πο[ ± 18]  
 τα τὴν πρα[.]ν ταῦτα γέγονεν. [Cαρα]πιακὸς εἶπεν· οὐκ ἀπεγράψατο.  
 Κλε[άνθης ῥήτωρ] εἶπεν· ± 8]  
 τὰ ὑπάρχον[τ]α ταῦτα δὴλως[ον. Cαραπιακὸς εἶπεν· ἐγ]ὼ ἡγόρασα. Ν[ε-  
 μεσίων ῥήτωρ] εἶπεν· τα. . . .]  
 [..].....[.....]. κέλευ[σον καταχωρίζεσθαι ἐπ]ὶ τῶν τ[όπων ἵνα εἰδῶσω].  
 Βασιλιανὸς εἶπεν·]

10 [ ± 10]. [ ± 3]. λει[ε] [ ± 10 ῥήτωρ] εἶπεν· τὰ κεκριμένα [ἀναγνώσκω. ± 10]  
 [ ± 8]. ποτιμος. Κλε[άνθης ῥήτωρ] εἶπεν· ὅτι ἐ]κεῖ πρῶτον κατέ[λαβον  
 ± 15]  
 [ ± 8]ροτον κύριον [εἶναι δεῖ. Θέω]ν ῥήτωρ εἶπεν· εἰ [προέλαβον ε ± 13]  
 [ ± 5] πόλει. Βασιλιανὸς εἶπεν· [τῶ ἐνδεκάτω] ἔ]τει ἐωνήσατο ὁ X[ρ... ουλος  
 1-4 Νεμε-]  
 [ε] [ἴ]ω]ν ῥήτωρ] [εἶ]πεν· ὡς εὔχεται οὐ κατ[εχωρίσθη τῶ] ια (ἔτει). Βασιλια-  
 νὸς κκε[ψάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν]  
 15 τῶ συμβουλίω Cαραπιακῶ εἶπεν· κατεχόρισαν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτά[τῃ ± 18]  
 σοι ἀγωγὰς εἰ τινας ἔχεις πρὸ[ε] τοὺς κληρονόμους τοῦ X[ρ... ουλου 2-5  
 δικαί-?]  
 ως ἐξεκαλέσατο. Κλεάνθης ῥήτωρ] εἶπεν· [τ]ὸ διεγγύημα κέλευσον [λυθῆναι.  
 Βασιλιανὸς]  
 εἶπεν· δικαίως ἐξεκαλέσατο. λέλυτα[ι] τὸ διεγγύημα.

3 Second ε of Νεμεσίων corr. At end read λέγεις 4 ὑπ- pap. 5 -c οἷς apparently a correction 6 ] . θα . . ν: only a trace remaining of the first letter. Letter after α most resembles δ or λ, letter after that possibly ο 9 λ of κέλευσον corr. from ν 13 Trace of an interlineation above πόλει?

2 εἶπεν: or εἶπεν. Cf. the note on 12 below.

3 παραγράφομαι apparently here in its sense of objecting to the admissibility of a suit, see LSJ s.v., II 4; and SB 8246. 4.

4 Or ἐκείνη of course.

6-7 κατὰ μετὰ? πρᾶξιν? πρᾶσιν?

7 The duplicate begins legibly at Κλεάνθης. Scanty and broken traces remain from one previous line which do not obviously repeat any part of the larger text; and in fact they should tally with part of the missing section at the end of 6. At the end of line 7, the lacuna of ± 8 letters is based on the duplicate which runs εἶπεν· [.] [.] [.] [.] τ]ὰ ὑπάρ[χοντα].

8 After τὰ ὑπάρχοντα the duplicate begins again at ἐγώ. Cαραπιακὸς εἶπεν] has been restored on the grounds of the use of the first person following. At the end of the line (the estimate of number of letters more is based on the supplement to 7) the duplicate reads τα. . . ; the final traces can be interpreted variously, including as one letter. τὰ κε[ (κεκριμένα, 10) cannot be read.

9 On considerations of space at the end of the line, some of the final supplement should probably be moved on to the beginning of 10.

10 After ἀναγνώσκω (-]ώσκω only in the duplicate) the duplicate has a space, indicative of a change of speaker (as is its practice elsewhere), or of the presence of some other notation, e.g. μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν (see Coles, *Reports of Proceedings*, p. 47). For ἀναγνώσκω (the use of the present) cf. SB 8246. 2-3.

11 At beginning, not ἀπό; possibly ὑπό. If this indicates a question from Basilianus, there would not be space for μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν (see preceding note).

εἶπεν· ὅτι (attested in the duplicate, where εἶπεν though is in full): or εἶπεν] ὅτι, with indirect speech? But this is a rare construction in reports of proceedings. A late example is in 2419. 4 (sixth century); and ὅτι occurs after other verbs of speaking elsewhere in 2419, and in BGU 1024 (fourth century) and in P. Lond. 113 (1 p. 199). One might note too 237 vii 23.

12 ῥήτωρ εἶπεν: the full forms in the body of a document where the words are otherwise abbreviated are not common. See Coles, op. cit. p. 45 n. 1. Cf. line 2, where ῥήτωρ at any rate was written



in full, but the full forms at the beginning of a document are less surprising. The duplicate, so far as it is preserved, uses the full forms throughout.

13 τῶ: supplied for reasons of space. It would have come in the missing portion of the duplicate, which begins again at ἐνδεκάτω. The eleventh year will presumably be that of Severus, A.D. 202/3. δ Χ[ρ]...ουλος: this name, and in 16 τοῦ Χ[ρ]...ουλου, has been put together by analogy with the duplicate which has here, [...].ουλος, and in 16 τουχρ[.]. I have not found a name to fit attested. The gap (if indeed there is one) at the end of the line is quite small, comparisons with restorations in 14 and 17 suggesting a range of 1-4 letters; similarly in 16 below, where such comparisons produce a range of 2-5 letters.

13-14 Νεμεσ[ι]ω[ν]: not supported by the duplicate, which is wanting at this point, but restored on the strength of the iota which will not suit any other advocate in the piece.

14 τῶ: omitted in the duplicate, but required here by the space.

16 δικαι- conjectural (cf. 18). For the size of the preceding gap (if any), see note on 13 above.

17 λυθῆναι not attested, but restored by analogy with λέλυται in 18.

## 2956. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED

27 3 B. 42/H(1-3)b + (4-5)d

8 x c. 24 cm.

A.D. 148/9

An order from the strategus and basilicogrammateus to the sitologi to make a loan of seed-corn, closely parallel to 1024. The background to the procedure is discussed in brief by Johnson, *Econ. Survey* II, 460-1. The present document is in two fragments, but is more or less complete except for some few lines in the middle where the break occurs. The back has some scanty traces of ink of uncertain significance.

- (m. 4?) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κηδ'.
- (m. 1) Αἴλιος Ἀφροδίσιος στρατηγός Ὁξυρηνχ(είτου)  
 αιτολό(γο)ις ἀπηλ(ιώτου) το(παρχίας) Φοβώου τό(πων) χ(αίρειν).  
 μετρήσατε ἐκ τοῦ καλλίστου δείγμα(τος)
- 5 συνεπιστέλλοντος Σερή[νου τοῦ καὶ]  
 Σαραπίωνος βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως εἰς  
 σπέρματα δάν[ε]ια τῆ[ς τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος)]  
 ἰβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 κατασπορᾶς ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελθ(όντος) ἰα (ἔτους)]
- 10 Κλεοχάρι Χαιρήμονος τρο[ῦ καὶ] Ἀν-  
 τωνίου (τοῦ) Κλεοχάρους μητρὸς . . . ριθ[  
 ὡς (ἐτῶν) ο οὐλή πῆχ(ει) δεξιῶ καὶ ἐτέρῳ Κλεο-  
 χάρε[ι] Χαιρήμονος τοῦ καὶ Ἀντωνίου  
 [μητρὸς? . . . .] .ν (ἐτῶν) λς .[.] . . ( )  
 (Papyrus broken)
- 15 ...[ ]  
 πυ[ρ]οῦ ἀρτά[β]ασις ?ἐπ[ι]τὰ

- γείνονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτ[ὸ πυροῦ καθαρο]ῦ  
 ἀδόλου ἀβώλου ἀκρεῖθ(ου) κεκοσκινευ(μένου)  
 μέτρῳ δ[η]μοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβ(ίῳ) ἀρτάβ(αι) κηδ ἐπὶ
- 20 τῶ καταθέσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγι-  
 ῶς ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν εἰωθότ(ων),  
 ἀσφαλι[ς] ἀμενοι τῶ ἰδίῳ ὑμῶν κιν-  
 δύνῳ, [ἐ]πὶ τῶ ἐκ νέων τὰς ἴσας με-  
 τὰ τῶν [ἐ]πομ[ε]ῖων ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς
- 25 δη[μο]σί[ο]ις ἀποδοῦναι αὐτούς, παρ' ὧν  
 λάβ[ε]τε τὴν καθήκο(υσαν) ἀποχῆ(ν) δικσῆν  
 ὧν τὴν ξέτεραν ἐμοὶ ἀναδότε. (ἔτους) ἰβ  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου  
 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς,
- 30 (m. 2) Τυβ[ί] α. Αἴλιος Ἀφροδίσιος  
 δι[α] Ἀντωνίνου βοηθ(οῦ) μετρή(σατε) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)  
 τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβ(ας) εἴκοσι ὀκτῶ δ',  
 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κηδ'.
- (m. 3) Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων(ν) μετρήσατε ὡς πρόκειται)
- 35 τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβ(ας) εἴκοσι ὀκτῶ  
 τέταρτον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) κηδ'.

1 Above this line, in the upper left margin, a trace of uncertain significance from ὡς 22 ἰδιω 27 ε of ἀναδότε corr. 14 (ἐτῶν) corr. 30 An erasure affects the first two-thirds of this line. 34 ως)

(4th? hand) '28½ art. wheat.'

(1st hand) 'Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the sitologi of the eastern toparchy, district of Phoboou, greetings. Measure out from the best sample, with the authorization also of Serenus also called Sarapion, basilicogrammateus, as a loan of seed-corn for the sowing of the present 12th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord from the produce of the past 11th year to Cleochores son of Chaeremon also called Antonius, son of Cleochores, his mother being . . . , aged about 70, with a scar on the right forearm, and to another Cleochores son of Chaeremon also called Antonius, his mother being . . . , aged 36 . . .'

(Ll. 17 seqq.) ' . . . together totalling 28½ artabas of wheat, pure, unadulterated, free from earth and barley, and sifted, measured by the government half-artaba measure, on condition that they are to sow it on the land faithfully under the supervision of the usual officials, guaranteeing it at your own risk, on condition that they will return the equivalent amount out of the new crop with the accompanying charges together with the state taxes on the land; and take from them the proper receipt in duplicate, giving one copy to me. The 12th year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius,' (2nd hand) 'Tybi(?) 1. From Aelius Aphrodisius, through Antoninus, assistant: measure out as aforesaid the twenty-eight and one-quarter artabas of wheat, total 28½ art. wheat.'

(3rd hand) 'From Serenus also called Sarapion: measure out as aforesaid the twenty-eight and one-quarter artabas of wheat, total 28½ art.'

1 The writing of this docket is not unlike that in l. 34-6.

2 For Aelius Aphrodisius see 2961. 10 note.

5-6 *Ἐξή[γου τοῦ καὶ] Ἐραπίωνος*: cf. line 34 below. See 2961. 11-12 note.

12 *καὶ ἑτέρω*: seemingly Chaeremon, also called Antonius, had two sons, widely spaced in age (now 70 and 36 respectively), both of whom he called Cleochares after his own father, if *〈τοῦ〉* is correctly added in line 11. For the phenomenon cf. the two Menemachi in *ΨΕΑΛΙΠ* (1967), pp. 126-8.

14 The trace before *ν* does not seem to be *ϛ*. Conceivably one might read *]. [ο]ν*, since the lower part of the line is lost, but the width available for *[ο]* is hardly sufficient. The respective ages of Chaeremon's two sons almost preclude their having had the same mother (cf. l. 11).

17 The lacuna is rather short for the supplement; one or both words may have been abbreviated. The final trace is non-committal.

23-4 *μετὰ τῶν ἐπομένων*: see Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 39.

30 *Ἀτὺρ* *[. ]**ᾶ* might possibly be read, but the putative first alpha is almost certainly a trace from the erased wording (see *app. crit.*). *Τῶβ[ι . ]**ᾶ* is also possible. None the less Hathyr (November) is a much more suitable date for loans of seed-corn (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 138 seqq.). Perhaps the answer lies in the erasure.

## VI. RETURNS TO OFFICIALS

## 2957. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

34 4B. 76/K(1-2)a

8 × 37 cm.

February A.D. 91

This declaration, reporting the death of a slave who was a weaver, is addressed to the collectors of the weavers' tax. The only other notice similarly addressed is 262, see Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil*, p. 70. For a discussion of this type of document see P. Mich. 579 introd., and to the supplementary list in n. 7 there add P. Petaus 3-8 and 2837. The back is blank.

→ [.....]...[.].[...].[±9 πρά-]  
 [κτο]ρσι χειρωναξίου γερδίων  
 [παρ]ὰ Ζηναρίου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου  
 [το]ῦ Ἡφαιστίνου τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυ-  
 5 [ρύ]χων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου  
 [τοῦ τῆ]ς θυγατρὸς ἀνδρὸ[ς] Ἑρμη[...]  
 [... ]ος τοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος.  
 [Δι]ο[γ]ᾶς δοῦλος πρότερον [τ]ο[ῦ] με-  
 [τ]ηλλαχότος μου ἀνδρὸς Ἐραπίωνος  
 10 [νος] τοῦ Διογένου ἐνεχυρα-  
 θεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου  
 Πάλλαντος γέρδιος ἀπογραφό-  
 μενος ἐπὶ τῆς πρότερον τοῦ  
 [α]ὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς μου Ἐραπίωνος  
 15 [ἐ]νεχυραθεὶ[ς] δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀντωνίου Πάλλ[α]ντος οἰκίας  
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Τεμγενοῦθεως  
 ἐτελεύτησε τῷ Χοιᾶχ μηνὶ  
 [τ]ο[ῦ] ἐνεστῶτος δεκάτου ἔτους  
 20 [Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Δομτιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ. διὸ ἀξιῶ  
 ἀναγραφῆναι τοῦτον ἐν τῇ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων τάξει ὡς καθήκει καὶ  
 ὁμνύω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα

- 25 Δομιτιανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν  
τετελευτηκέναι τὸν δοῦλον Διο-  
γᾶν. εὐορκούσῃ μὲν μοι εἶ εἴη,  
ἐπιορκούσῃ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.
- (m. 2) Ἀπολλώνιος σεση(μείωμαι). (ἔτους) δεκάτου
- 30 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ  
[Σε]βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεχ(εἶρ)..

27 l. μὲν 28 ἐπιορκούσῃ: η corrected from ι 29 σεσ<sup>η</sup> 31 μελ<sup>χ</sup>

‘Το. . . , collectors of the trade tax on weavers, from Zenarion, daughter of Heracleides, the son of Hephaestion, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, with her guardian Herme. . . , son of Ischyron, her daughter’s husband. The slave Diogas, a weaver, who formerly belonged to my deceased husband, Sarapion, son of Diogenes, but was pledged to Marcus Antonius Pallas, and who is registered in the house which formerly belonged to my same husband Sarapion, but was pledged to Antonius Pallas, in the quarter of Temgenouthis, died in the month of Choeach of the present tenth year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus. Wherefore I request that he be listed in the category of such persons, as is proper, and I swear by Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus that the slave Diogas has died. May it be well with me if I swear truly, the opposite if I swear falsely. (2nd hand) I, Apollonius, have signed. The tenth year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Mecheir. . .’

1 One of the addressees was probably the Apollonius of 29.

1-2 [πράκτο]ρι κτλ.: restoration based on 285 6-7 πράκτωρ χειρωναξίου γερδίων; cf. 393. Perhaps [ἐκλήμπτω]ρι was written, but I cannot find the title ἐκλήμπτωρ χειρωναξίου γερδίων, only ἐκλήμπτωρ γερδίων or γερδιακοῦ (262 1, P. Mich. 171 1-2, 172 1, BGU VII 1591 4).

3 Ζηναρίου: a rare name in papyri; elsewhere only in P. Oslo II 52 1, 243 8, 10, 286 2, 16.

6-7 Ἐρμη[. . .]ος: e.g. Ἐρμη[σίων]ος.

11-12 Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Πάλλαντος: perhaps related to Claudius’ famous freedman, who is known to have had holdings in Egypt (Rostovtzeff, SEHRE<sup>2</sup> II, p. 671, iv (27), Tomsin, *Studi Calderimi-Paribeni* II, p. 219). Another M. Antonius Pallas, owner of an οὐσία in the Hermopolite nome in A.D. 121, is also believed to belong to the same family (Rostovtzeff, op. cit. p. 674 n. 48, W. Chr. 370).

17 Τεμγενοῦθεως: cf. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 34-5; Biscottini, *Aeg.* XLVI (1966), p. 85 n. 3.

### 2958. REQUEST FOR REFUND OF PRICE OF *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*

26 3B. 53/G(3-5)b

8 × 19 cm.

2 December A.D. 99

A request addressed to the strategus for the refund of the price of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* by Apollonius, son of Epimachus, who declares at the same time that he has cleared all his obligations on that account up to that time. Cf. the fragmentary 1304; and for *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*, or *frumentum emptum*, in general see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 22-3; Johnson, *Roman Egypt [Econ. Survey II]*, pp. 620 ff.; P. Berl. Leihg. p. 72. To the references in Wallace p. 365 may be added W.O. 791, O. Bodl. 1395, 1414, 1472, P. Strassb. 191, BGU 2026, 2075, P. Mil. Vogl. 176 and especially PSI 1262.

The back is blank. With regard to this text and those that follow, I am much indebted to Mme. Danielle Bonneau for information on the quality of individual Nile floods in advance of the publication of her book on this subject.

The price per artaba, 16 drachmas, is remarkably high; cf. the discussion of Schwartz, *Les archives de Sarapion*, pp. 327 ff. A list of prices is given by Johnson, op. cit. p. 310. Note the price of 8 dr. per artaba in A.D. 154 in 2961-7 below, with which compare PSI 1262 (A.D. 137) which has the same rate. 2968 of A.D. 191 unfortunately lacks the statement of price paid. Schwartz (op. cit. p. 333 n. 1) treats 8 dr. per artaba as a fixed rate for *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* and discounts it in his calculations of the price of wheat, but it seems to me that this is a misleading approach. A high rate of this kind is understandable when it is a question of *adaeratio*, but this is not the case in the documents here edited, and the high rate would be particularly surprising with *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*, which it would seem was compulsorily bought from unwilling farmers at below the current market rate. Obviously 8 drachmas is the rate for refunding the value of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* in 137 and 154, but the uniformity of the rate is coincidental while the high rate will be indicative of even higher general prices due to unfavourable agricultural conditions. That 8 dr. was not a fixed rate even in this period is clear from P. Teb. 394 of A.D. 149, where the rate is 7 dr. *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* it would seem was levied for the army particularly when wheat prices on the normal market were high especially as the result of a low Nile flood. A poor flood would mean a poor harvest and a shortage and could affect prices over a period of nearly two years, by increasing retrospectively the price of wheat from the harvest preceding, until adequate supplies were available again from the harvest consequent on the flood (assuming this were satisfactory) after the poor one. In the present instance, and in 2959, the levy is made on the harvest of the second year of Trajan (A.D. 98/9) but the flood responsible is undoubtedly that of 99 and not 98, which appears to have been very good (for evidence see Dattari, *Catalogo*, no. 972, and P. Mich. 464. 20, references I owe to Mme. Bonneau; for the significance of the Dattari coin, see her paper in *Atti XI. Cong. Int. Pap.*, esp. pp. 384-5); the flood of 99 was very bad, see Pliny, *Paneg.* §31 (Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil*, p. 342). This view finds support in 2959 where it is revealed that the wheat was not actually paid until Hathyr of the third year of Trajan, that is after the flood of 99 was known to be poor.

An objection arises from O. Strassb. 336 and 337 which are dated to the summer of 99 (i.e. before the flood of 99). This should indicate that the connexion between *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*, the Nile flood and high general wheat prices is not compelling, and that *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* may have been levied in other years, at a reduced rate,<sup>1</sup> for exceptional or even regular military purposes. When however the rate of refund is as high as it is in 2958, it seems clear that whatever else may be involved agricultural conditions must also be taken into account. Further evidence for the poor quality of the flood of 99 is to be

<sup>1</sup> It is even possible that the rate was not reduced; unwillingness to contribute (cf. PSI 476) might be sufficiently explained if the levy had to be met from stocks which the farmers wished to retain for their own use. Delay in making the refund (cf. especially 2960) doubtless aggravated the situation.

seen in the absence of Nilus coins (Bonneau, *Atti op. cit.*, p. 384); perhaps P. Würzb. 11 (contrast P. Iand. 26 from the preceding year); the cultivation of *χέρκος αἰγιαλός* (P. Iand. 27. 12). Again I owe these references to Mme. Bonneau. On land classed as *αἰγιαλός* and its cultivation see *Atti op. cit.*, p. 387-8. P. Iand. 27 must of course concern the flood of 100, but this particular agricultural phenomenon, as Mme. Bonneau kindly writes, requires a specific conjunction of floods, initially a very poor one (here that of 99) followed by one that should not be too abundant.

→ Δίωι στρ(ατηγῶ)  
 παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Σεκούργου  
 Ἐπιμάχου ἀπὸ Ὁξυρ[ύ]γγ(ων) πόλ(εως).  
 δέομαι ἐπισταλῆναι τὰς ὀφ[ειλομέ-]  
 5 νας μοι ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πυροῦ συναγο-  
 ραζτικ(οῦ) γενήματ(ος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) β (ἔτους)  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα  
 Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ[α]νι[κο]ῦ  
 οὔ ἐμέτρησα ἀκολουθῶς τοῖ[ς]  
 10 ὑπ[ὸ] Πομπηίου Π[λ]άντα το[ῦ] κρ[α]-  
 τίστου ἡγεμόνος κελευσθ[εῖς]  
 διὰ *αι(τολόγων)* Χοίσεως καὶ Ἀθύχεω[ς]  
 (ἀρτάβας) ιβ ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ις (δραχμάς) ρσβ καὶ ὀμνύω  
 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Νέρουαν Τραιανῶ(ν)  
 15 Γερμανικὸν μητὲν ὀφείλειν ὑπὲρ  
 . . . οὐ ἢ συναγορα[ς]τικ(οῦ) εἰς τὴν ἐνε-  
 στῶσαν ἡμέραν ἢ ἔνοχος ἦν {εν} τ[ῶ]  
 ὄρκωι. (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 20 Γερμανικοῦ, (m. 2) Χοιάχ ε. (m. 3) Ἀπολ-  
 λώνιος ὁ καὶ Σεκούνδος Ἐπιμάχου  
 ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὀμώμεκα τὸν  
 ὄρκον.

12 l. *Χύσεως* 15 l. *μηδὲν ὀφείλειν* 17 l. *εἶην* 19 Filler-stroke at end of line  
 20 *Χοιάχ*: first *χ* corr. 22 l. *ὀμώμεκα*

'To Dius, strategus, from Apollonius also called Secundus, son of Epimachus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. I request authority for the payment of the 192 drachmas owed to me on account of the price of requisitioned wheat at 16 drachmas (per artaba) from the produce of the past second year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, of which I paid in accordance with the orders of Pompeius Planta the most excellent prefect 12 artabas through the sitologi of Chysis and

Athychis; and I swear by Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Germanicus that I owe nothing on account of . . . or requisitioned (wheat) up to the present day, else may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. The third year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus,' (2nd hand) 'Choiak 5.' (3rd hand) 'I, Apollonius also called Secundus, son of Epimachus, have presented this and have sworn the oath.'

1 For Dius see the note on 2959, 1 below.

2959. REQUEST FOR REFUND OF PRICE OF *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*

7 1 B. 3/H(b)

7 × 9.9 cm.

?November A.D. 99

Another document of the type of 2958 above. The present example, addressed to the same strategus and dated a month earlier but written in a different hand, is broken off at l. 17. The back is blank.

→ Δίωι στρ(ατηγῶ)  
 παρὰ Φλαβίας Διονυσίας καὶ ὡς  
 χρηματίζει ἢ συνκεχώρηται  
 χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματίζεω.  
 5 δέομαι ἐπισταλῆναι ἐκ τοῦ  
 δημοσίου τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι  
 ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πυροῦ συναγορασι-  
 κοῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντ(ος)  
 β (ἔτους) οὗ ἐμέτρησα ἀκολουθ(ως)  
 10 τοῖς κελευσθεῖσι ὑπὸ Πομπη-  
 ἰου Πλάντα τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγε-  
 μόνος δι(ὰ) *αι(τολόγων)* Κερκεμούγεω[ς]  
 τῶ ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ Νέω  
 Σεβαστῶ ις (ἀρτάβας) ξθL  
 15 κδ (ἀρτάβας) ληL τῶν ἐπ[ὶ]  
 τὸ α(ὐτὸ) (ἀρταβῶν) ρη ὡς τῆ[ς]  
 .[.] .[.]

2 ι of *Φλαβίας* corr. 4 Filler-stroke at end of line 7 π of *πυροῦ* corr. from *υ*

'To Dius, strategus, from Flavia Dionysia and howsoever she is styled, who has been granted the right of acting without a guardian. I request authority for the payment out of public funds of the [drachmas] owed to me on account of the price of requisitioned wheat from the produce of the past 2nd year of which I paid in the present month Neos Sebastos through the sitologi of Kerkemounis in accordance with the orders of Pompeius Planta the most excellent prefect, on the 17th 69½ artabas and on the 24th 38½ artabas, the total amounting to 108 artabas, at a price of . . .'

<sup>1</sup> For Dius see the list of Mussies, no. 265. The present text provides a new or at least more precise *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of his tenure of office. Cf. 2958, dated to the month following.

15-16 Cf. P. Teb. 394. 13.

2960. REQUEST FOR REFUND OF PRICE OF *πυρός συναγοραστικός*

33 4B. 79/F(1-2)a

9.5 × 40.5 cm.

23 January A.D. 100

This document is a request addressed to Achilles, basilicogrammateus, in form basically similar to 2958-9 addressed to the strategus, and dates from the same regnal year as those two; but the *πυρός συναγοραστικός* for which a refund is here sought was levied on the produce of the first year of Nerva (i.e. the harvest of A.D. 97), over two years earlier. This delay in refunding the price supports the interpretation of PSI 1262 suggested by me in *Proc. XII Congress of Papyrology* (Michigan, 1968), p. 86. The price is high, 8 dr./art., not as high as the 16 dr. of 2958 but the same as the rate in PSI 1262 and 2961-7 below. If the present levy is connected with the Nile flood, the text provides no indication as to which particular flood is concerned (it should be either the 96 or the 97 flood).

The back is blank.

- Ἀχιλλῆ β(ακιλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)  
παρὰ Διδύμου τοῦ Σπα[ρταλᾶ]  
καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Καλλίου καὶ  
Πασιώνος τοῦ Πασιών[ος καὶ]  
5 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀμοιτ[ος καὶ Κα]λ-  
λίου τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ Κεφαλᾶ  
Πλουτίωνος καὶ Πλουτίων[ος]  
Σύρου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν πάντων ἁ-  
π' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλε[ω]ς καὶ Ζωί-  
10 λου Πτολεμαίου καὶ Πασιώνος  
Θώνιος καὶ Πανετβέως Ἀρ-  
μύσιος ἀπὸ Νεμερῶν. δεφ-  
μεθα ἐπισταλῆναι ἐκ [τοῦ]  
δημοσίου τὰς ὀφειλομένα[ς]  
15 ἐκά[ς]τῃ ἡμῶν ὡς ὑπόκει-  
ται καὶ μεταδοθείσας [διὰ]  
τῶν παρὰ Ἰο[υ]λίου Ἐρμίου [γενο-]  
μένου στρα[τηγοῦ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς]

- πυροῦ συναγορα[στικοῦ γενή-]  
20 ματος πρώτου ἕ[τους] θεοῦ  
Νέρουα, οὗ ἐμετρήσαμεν  
εἰς δημοσίον θησαυρὸν ἁ-  
πὸ τοῦ ἐπικλασθέντος κώ-  
μη Νεμερῶν πυροῦ ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης)  
25 (δραχμῶν) ἡ ὁ μὲν Δίδυμος (ἀρτάβας) β (δραχμᾶς) ις,  
ὁ δὲ ἀδ(ελ)φὸς Καλλίας (ἀρτάβης) λ (δραχμᾶς) δ,  
καὶ ὁ Πασιών (ἀρτάβας) β (δραχμᾶς) ις, καὶ ὁ Ἀμοίος  
(ἀρτάβας) β (δραχμᾶς) ις, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος Καλλίας  
(ἀρτάβας) ζ λ'δ' (χοίνικας) δ (δραχμᾶς) ξβ (ὄβολοις τέσσαρας), καὶ ὁ  
Κεφαλᾶς  
30 (ἀρτάβας) γ (δραχμᾶς) κδ, καὶ ὁ Πλουτίων καὶ ὁ  
υἱὸς (ἀρτάβας) δ (δραχμᾶς) λβ, καὶ ὁ Ζωίλος  
(ἀρτάβην) α (δραχμᾶς) η, καὶ ὁ Πασιών (ἀρτάβης) λ (δραχμᾶς) δ,  
καὶ ὁ Πανετβεῦς (ἀρτάβας) γ (δραχμᾶς) κδ,  
(γίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (δραχμαὶ) ες (ὄβολοι τέσσαρες), ἢ ὦ-  
35 μεν εὐεργετημένοι. (ἔτους) γ  
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα  
Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,  
Τύβι κζ Σεβ(αστή). (m. 2) Δίδυμος κα[ὶ]  
Καλλίας ἀμφότεροι Σπαρταλᾶ  
40 καὶ Ζοίλος Πτολεμαίου ἐπιδε-  
δώκαμεν. Δίδυμος Σπαρταλᾶ  
ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ  
εἰδόντων γράμματα. (m. 3) Πασιών  
Πασιώνος ἐπιδέδωκα. (m. 4) Πλ[ουτίω]ν  
45 Σύρου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ Πανετ[βεῦς]  
Ἀρμύσιος ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.  
Πανετβεῦς Πλουτίωνος ἔγραψα  
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἰδό-  
των γράμματα. (m. 5) Κεφαλᾶς Πλου-  
50 τίωνος ἐπιδέδωκα. (m. 6) Ἀμοιτᾶς Πασι-  
ώνος καὶ Πασιών Θώνιος ἐπιδε-  
δώκαμεν. Ἀμοιτᾶς Πασιώνος ἔγρα-

ψα ὑπὲρ Πασιώνος μὴ εἰδότης γρά-  
μματα. (m. 7) Καλλίας Καλλίου ἐπιδέ-  
δωκα.

11 τ corr. from β. Filler-stroke at end    15 Filler-stroke at end    21 οδ written over hori-  
zontal stroke    22 ε of εἰς perhaps corr. from δ    24 The abbreviation at the end has been  
altered    25 Abbrev. for drachmas at beginning re-inked    26 δ of δδ(ελ)φός corr.    30 κδ:  
δ corr. from β    καί at end, α corr. from ε    ὄ: 1. οἱ    38 κ of καί corr. or rewritten    40 1. Ζωίλος  
42 κ of καί corr. from ν    μὴ also corr.?    45 ὄ: 1. οἱ    50 1. Ἀμοῖς, also in 52

'To Achilles, basilicogrammateus, from Didymus son of Spartalas and his brother Callias, and Pasion son of Pasion and his brother Amois, and Callias son of Callias, and Cephalas son of Plution, and Plution son of Syrus with his sons, all from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, and Zoilus son of Ptolemaeus, and Pasion son of Thonis, and Panetbeus son of Harmiysis, from Nemeræ. We request authority for the payment from the state treasury of the (drachmas) owed to each of us as set out below, and authorized by deputies of Julius Hermias, ex-strategus, on account of the price of requisitioned wheat at 8 drachmas per artaba from the produce of the first year of the deified Nerva which we paid into the state granary from the wheat levied on the village of Nemeræ, (namely) 16 dr. for 2 art. paid by Didymus, and 4 dr. for ½ art. paid by his brother Callias, and 16 dr. for 2 art. paid by Pasion, and 16 dr. for 2 art. paid by Amois, and 62 dr. 4 ob. for 7½ art. 4 choen. paid by the other Callias, and 24 dr. for 3 art. paid by Cephalas, and 32 dr. for 4 art. paid by Plution and his sons, and 8 dr. for 1 art. paid by Zoilus, and 4 dr. for ½ art. paid by Pasion, and 24 dr. for 3 art. paid by Panetbeus, the sum total being 206 dr. 4 ob., that we may be benefited. The 3rd year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, Tybi 27, Augustan day.' The signatures of the applicants follow.

1 Achilles is an addition to the list of Oxyrhynchite basilicogrammateis.

2 Πα[ραλα̅]: cf. ll. 39, 41 below. The name if correctly read is an *addendum lexicis*.

16 seqq. It seems that the present applicants, separately or together, had already made application for a refund at or nearer the time of the levy to the then strategus, but without success.

17 Julius Hermias is an addition to the list of Oxyrhynchite strategi. His term of office is presumably to be assigned to c. the second half of A.D. 97.

38 Σεβ(ακτῆ): see Snyder, *Aeg.* XVIII (1938), pp. 197 ff., and XLIV (1964), 145 ff.

47 Pausiris: one of the *vioi* of ll. 8, 31 and 45, not otherwise named in the document.

### 2961-2967. RECEIPTS FOR THE PRICE OF *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*

A.D. 154

The following seven papyri document a stage subsequent to the requests for refund of the price of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* preserved in 2958-2960. Cf. PSI 1262 and 2968. 2961-2966 divide into two groups of three, each group concerning a single transaction; the two transactions are closely contemporary. Each group contains one receipt addressed to the *δημόσιοι τραπεζίται* and two to the strategus, the two latter being duplicates; in each group all three texts were found together. 2967 (addressed to the strategus) is also contemporary, but for this transaction no related documents have been found.

Within each group (2961-3, 2964-6) the first and (where preserved) second hands are the same in each text (although 2962 is much less cursive than 2961 and 2963). The first hand of 2967 is possibly the same as in 2961-3.

In the first group, 2961-3, the actual order of writing (to judge from the increasingly cursive character of the hand: the incidence of abbreviations is too haphazard to be a guide here) was 2962, then 2963, then 2961. No such order is readily apparent in the second group.

The backs of all are blank except 2962, 2966 and perhaps 2965, for which see *ad loc.*

The price per artaba, 8 drachmas, is the same in all the receipts; cf. PSI 1262 of A.D. 137, cited above, which has the same rate. See the introduction to 2958 above. However the connexion there discussed between *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* and the Nile flood will not well fit the present group. If a poor flood were responsible it should be that of either 152 or 153, since in 2964-6 the levy is specified as being on the produce of the sixteenth year, i.e. from the harvest of 153. Mme. Bonneau writes that the 153 flood was good or very good (e.g. Dattari, *Catalogo*, no. 2763); as to 152, she writes 'je n'ai aucun indice que la crue de 152 ait été excessive, mai seulement *assez bonne*, abondante'. She suggests a connexion with the revolt at Alexandria in 153/4 (see e.g. BGU 372 = W. Chr. 19); cf. the significance of O. Strassb. 336 and 337, discussed in the introd. to 2958 above. However 8 dr./art. is not a normal price for wheat at this period, and indicates a general price even higher, and I would suggest that the 152 flood may in fact have been excessive rather than simply abundant. On an excessive flood, see Bonneau, *Atti XI. Cong. Int. Pap.*, pp. 388-9 (P. Lond. 131 recto, A.D. 78). It may be that the work on the dikes at a late time of year evidenced by SB 9266. g (October 152) indicates something of the same kind. Cf. also P. Got. 2, which may also indicate an unsatisfactory flood in 152: see Johnson, *Roman Egypt (Econ. Survey II)*, p. 460.

### 2961

27 3 B. 41/B (8-9)a

6.6 × 16 cm.

28 February A.D. 154

→ Φαμ(ενὼθ) δ', (δραχμαὶ) με.

Τααμεννεῦς Ἀνουβίωνος  
μητ(ρὸς) Ἀρσῆτος μετὰ κυρίου  
τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀνουβάτος Θεώνος

5 ἀπὸ Τήεως Σαραπίωνι  
καὶ μετόχοις δημοσίοις  
τραπεζείταις χαίρειν.

ἀπέσχον παρ' ὑμῶν  
τὰς ἐπισταλείας μοι ὑπὸ

10 Αἰλίου Ἀφροδεικίου στρ(ατηγοῦ)  
καὶ Σερήνου τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σαραπίωνος  
βασιτικοῦ γρ(αμματέως) ὑπὲρ τιμῆς

- πυροῦ συναγοραστικοῦ  
 οὐ ἐμέτρησα διὰ κυτολό-  
 15 γων Θμοι(σεφῶ) το(παρχίας) Τήεως τό(πων)  
 γ̄ λόγου κολλ(ήματος) νβ  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς α(ὑτῆς) Τήεως (ἀρτάβας) εΙη'  
 ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμῶν) η ἀκολουθῶς  
 τοῖς ὑπὸ Μουνατίου Φήλικος  
 20 τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος κε-  
 [λευσθεῖσι] τὰς συναγομένας δρα-  
 [χμὰς τ]εσσαράκοντα π[ε]ν[ν]-  
 [τε . . . . .].[

11 του<sup>c</sup>

'Pham(enoth) 4, dr(achmas) 45.

'Taamenneus daughter of Anubion, her mother being Harses, with her son Anubas, son of Theon, as guardian, from Teis, to Sarapion and partners, public bankers, greetings. I have received from you the aggregate sum of forty-five drachmas whose payment to me was authorized by Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus, and Serenus also called Sarapion, basilicogrammateus, on account of the price of requisitioned wheat of which I paid  $5\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$  artabas through the sitologi of the toparchy of Thmoisepho, district of Teis, 3rd account, sheet 52, on account of the same Teis, at 8 drachmas per artaba in accordance with the orders of Munatius Felix the most excellent prefect. . . .'

1 The hand of the docket closely resembles that of the body of the document. Cf. 2967 below, where the docket is certainly in the same hand as here and likewise resembles that of the body of the document following it, the few days' difference in date (contrast ll. 1 and 21) notwithstanding.

5 For Teis see e.g. P. Iand. 139. 15 with note.

6 μετόχοις: see 2664. 11 note.

10 Aelius Aphrodisius features in all these receipts (2961-7). He was in office as early as the 12th year of Antoninus (2956, A.D. 148/9) and as late as 3-7 March A.D. 154 (2967). His *nomen* Aelius is new, but he is obviously to be identified with the Aphrodisius of SB 9862, of Thoth or Phamenoth 20 of an unknown year of Antoninus. The editor restored the date as Thoth 20 of the tenth year on conjectural grounds and converted this wrongly to 17 September 147. If genuine, it would be equivalent to 17 September 146, which falls uncomfortably close to the beginning of the regnal year 146/7 in which it is known Dioscorus was still strategus (P. Oxy. II, p. 208). And that it is not genuine may be implied by SB 9862 itself, where in 8 seqq. there is a reference to inheritance by the provisions of a will. If, as the editor suggests, this will is the same as that listed in 1725 (a third-century list of abstracts of contracts), 19-21 as deposited in the tenth year of Antoninus, SB 9862, which is subsequent to the making of the will and to the testator's death, may easily fall within the span of Aphrodisius' term of office as known from 2956 and 2961-7.

SB 9862 can thus fall later than P. Iand. 139 which supposedly attests -]τεει (dative) as strategus on 21 August 148; but date, name (l. 1) and title (l. 2) are all suspect, and even if lines 1-2 are correctly read it is unlikely from the layout of the printed text that ]τεει in l. 1 would be the dative of the name of the strategus in l. 2. P. Iand. 139 = Inv. No. 241 cannot now be checked. See Gundel, *Aeg.* xli (1961), p. 6.

11-12 *Σερήνου τοῦ κ(αί) Σαραπίωνος*: a Sarapion is already known as basilicogrammateus from the papyri near this time, namely P. Iand. 139 (cited above), 4-5 (21 August 148?) and P. Lips. 121. 1 (25 December 151; = W. *Chr.* 173). Serenus, also called Sarapion, appears too in 2956 of A.D. 148/9, and *Σερήνω* is doubtless to be restored in both P. Iand. and P. Lips.

19-20 This papyrus provides a new *terminus post quem* for the end of the prefecture of Munatius Felix, since although his orders will have been given some time prior to the date of the text he is still described as ἡγεμόνος: contrast PSI 1262. 800 (Stein, *Die Präfekten*, p. 81) is not well enough preserved to guarantee the connexion of the sixteenth year with Felix as ex-prefect so as to contradict the present evidence. The new date for him reduces substantially the chances of fitting in a prefecture for Dinarchus at this point, because the interval between Felix and the next certain prefect, Liberalis, is now only six months.

## 2962

27 3 B. 41/B(8-9)c

7.9 × 15 cm.

?February A.D. 154

- Τααμενεῦς Ἀνουβίωνος μητρὸς  
 [Ἀ]ρξῆτος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 Ἀνουβᾶτ[ος] Θέωνο[ς] ἀπὸ Τή[ε]ως  
 Αἰλίω Ἀφροδι[είω] τ[ρα]πηγῶν Ὀξυρυγ(είτου)  
 5 [χ]αίρειν. ἀπέσχον παρὰ Σαραπίω(νος)  
 καὶ μετόχ(ων) δημοσίω(ν) τραπεζιτῶ(ν) τὰς  
 ἐπισταλείας μοι ὑπὸ τε σοῦ καὶ Σερήνου  
 τοῦ κ(αί) Σαραπίω(νος) βασιλικ(οῦ) γραμματέως ὑπὲρ τεμ(ῆς) πυροῦ  
 συναγοραστικ(οῦ) οὐ ἐμέτρησα διὰ κυτολόγ(ων)  
 10 Θμοι(σεφῶ) το(παρχίας) Τήεως τό(πων) γ̄ λόγου  
 κολλ(ήματος) νβ ὑπὲρ τῆς α(ὑτῆς) Τήεως (ἀρτάβας) εΙη'  
 ὡς τ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμῶν) η ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ Μου-  
 νατίου Φήλικος τοῦ κρατίστου  
 ἡγ[εμόνο]ς κελευσθεῖσι τὰς συναγο-  
 15 [μέ]νας (δραχμὰς) με, γί(νονται) δραχμαὶ τεσσα-  
 ράκοντα πέντε πλήρεις. (ἔτους) ιζ  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτ[ου] Αἰλίου  
 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖν[ο]ν  
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦ(ς), Φαμενώθ (vac.).  
 20 (m. 2) Τααμενεῦς Ἀνου-  
 βί[ω]ν[ος] μετὰ κυρίου  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀνουβᾶτος  
 ἀπ[έ]σχον τὰς τοῦ ἀργυ-  
 ρίου .[

Back: along the fibres, remains of a one-line docket, much rubbed. It possibly reads *Φαμ(ενώθ) δ Τααμενεῖ (δραχμὰς) με*; note 2961. 1. Cf. 2966 back, perhaps in the same hand.

4 The strategus' name begins with slightly enlarged letters.

19 The scribe apparently wrote *ευσεβου*. *φ* is curiously formed. At end, the figure for the day has been omitted.

2963

6.8 × 15.2 cm.

A.D. 154

27 3B. 41/B(8-9)b

→ Τααμεννεῦς [Ἄ]νου-  
βίωνος μητρὸς Ἀρσῆτος  
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ  
Ἄνουβᾶτος Θέωνος  
5 ἀπὸ Τήεως Αἰλίωι Ἀφροδιείω  
στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρυγχείτ[ο]υ  
χαίρειν. ἀπέσχον παρὰ  
Cαραπίωνος καὶ μετόχων  
δημοσίων τραπεζειτῶν  
10 τὰς ἐπισταλείας μοι ὑπὸ τε  
σοῦ καὶ Cερήνου τοῦ καὶ Cαρα(πίωνος)  
βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως ὑπὲρ τιμῆς  
πυροῦ συναγοραστικοῦ  
οὗ ἐμέτρησα διὰ σιτολ(όγων)  
15 Θμοι(σεφῶ) το(παρχίας) Τήεως τό(πων)  
ἄ λόγου κολ(λήματος) νβ  
ὑ(πὲρ) τῆ[ς α(ὕτης)] Τήεως (ἀρτάβας) εΛη'  
ὡς τ[ῆ]ς (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμῶν) η ἀκολου-  
[θ]ως [το]ῖς ὑπὸ Μουνατίου  
20 [Φήλικος τοῦ] κρατίστου  
[ . . . ] . [ . . . ]

14 δ of διὰ corr.

19 ὑπο παρ.

2964

8.2 × 12.1 cm.

15 February A.D. 154

26 3B. 49/J(2-3)b

→ [Cινθῶνις] Ἀμμωνίου δ[ιὰ]  
Ποκ[ωούτο]ς τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
ἀν[δρὸς ἀ]π' Ὁξυ[ρ]ύγγων πόλεω[ς]

Cαραπ[ίωνι] καὶ μετόχ(οις) δημοσίων  
5 τραπεζείταις χαίρειν. ἀπέχω  
παρ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπισταλείας μοι  
ὑπὸ Αἰλίου Ἀφροδειείου στρατηγῶ δ'  
καὶ Cερήνου τοῦ καὶ Cαραπίωνος βα-  
σιλικοῦ γραμματ(έως) ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πυ-  
10 [ρο]ῦ συναγοραστικοῦ γενήματος  
[ις] (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
[οῦ] ἐ[μέτ]ρησα διὰ σιτολογίας  
[ἄ]νω τόπων Μονίμου τ[ό]πων  
ἔ λ(όγου) κ[ο]λλήματ(ος) ἰγ ἀρτάβας ἰ ὡς τῆς  
15 [ἀ]ρ[τ]άβης δραχ(μῶν) ὀκτώ τὰς συναγο-  
μέν[ac δ]ραχ(μάς) ὀγδοήκοντ[α], κί[ν]ονται (δραχμαὶ) π.  
ἔτ[ους] ἰς [Α]ὐ[τ]οκράτο[ρ]ος [Κα]ί[σαρ]ος [Τί]το[υ]  
Αἰ[λί]ου Ἀδρ[ια]νοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Cεβαστοῦ  
Ε[ὐ]σεβ[ί]ου [Με]χεῖρ [κᾶ. (m. 2) Cινθῶνις Ἀμ-]  
20 μων[ί]ου [ἔ]χον δ[ιὰ] Π[ο]κω[ού]το[ς] τοῦ καὶ  
Ἀπ[ο]λλ[ωνί]ου ἀνδρὸς τὰς δ[ραχ-]  
[ . . . ] (vac.)

13 l. ἄνω τοπαρχίας 16. l. γίνονται

1 The lacuna seems wide for Cινθῶνις (so also in 2965), but perhaps not impossibly so.  
19 κᾶ: cf. 2965. 20. Very slight traces of ink remain which could be assigned to α and the supra-  
linear bar, and also from further along the line.

2965

7.9 × 12.3 cm.

15 February A.D. 154

26 3B. 49/J(2-3)b

→ [Cινθῶνις] Ἀμμωνίου [διὰ] Πο-  
[κω]ούτος [το]ῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
ἀ[νδρὸς ἀ]π' Ὁξυρύγγων πόλεω  
[Αἰ]λίωι Ἀφ[ρ]οδειείω στρ(ατηγῶ) χαίρειν.  
5 ἀπέχω παρὰ [Cα]ραπίωνος καὶ μετόχ(ων)  
δημοσίων τ[ρα]πεζειτῶν τὰς ἐπι-  
σταλείας μοι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ Cερήνου  
τοῦ καὶ C[α]ραπίωνος βασιλικοῦ γραμ-



- ματέως ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πυροῦ  
 10 συναγοραστικοῦ γενήματος ἰς (ἔτους)  
 Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 οὗ ἐμέτρησα διὰ χειρολογίας ἄνω  
 τόπων Μονίμου τόπων ἔ λόγου  
 κολλημάτων ἰγ ἀρτάβας ἰ ὡς τῆς  
 15 ἀρτάβης δραχμῶν ὀκτώ τὰς συν-  
 αγομένας δραχμὰς ὀγδοήκοντα(α),  
 κίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) π. ἔτους ἰζ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Ἀντωνείνου C[εβα]στοῦ Εὐσεβ[οῦ]ς,  
 20 Μεχείρ κ̄α. (m. 2) Cιωθῶνις Ἀμ[μ]ωνίου  
 ἔσχον διὰ Ποκωο[ῦ]τος τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολ-  
 λωνίου ἀνδρὸς τὰς δραχμὰς ὀγδοή-  
 κοντα.

Back: some traces of ink not certainly identifiable as writing.

13 init. l. τοπαρχίας 14 l. κολλημάτων 17 l. γίνονται 20 After Μεχείρ, κα a correction?

'Sinthonis, daughter of Ammonius, through Pokoous also called Apollonius, her husband, to Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus, greetings. I have received from Sarapion and partners, public bankers, the aggregate sum of eighty drachmas whose payment to me was authorized by you and Serenus also called Sarapion, basilicogrammateus, on account of the price of requisitioned wheat at 8 drachmas per artabas from the produce of the sixteenth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, of which I paid 10 artabas through the sitologus-office of the district of Monimou in the upper toparchy, fifth account, sheet 13; total 80 dr. The seventeenth year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mecheir 21.' (2nd hand) 'I, Sinthonis, daughter of Ammonius, have received through Pokoous also called Apollonius, my husband, the eighty drachmas.'

3-4 There is a short space at the end of l. 3, and a slightly wider gap between ll. 3 and 4. Cf. 2962 4, n.

## 2966

26 3B. 49/J(2-3)b

8 × 8.3 cm.

A.D. 154

- ]..[  
 [Πο]κωοῦ[τος]  
 [ἀν]δρὸς [  
 [Α]ιλίω Ἀφροδε[ι]ώ στρο(ατηγῶ) χαίρ[ειν].]  
 5 [ἀπ]έχω παρὰ Cαραπίωνος καὶ [μετόχ(ων)]  
 [δ]ημοσίων τραπεζ[ι]τιῶν τὰς [ἐπι-]

- [στ]αλείας [μο]ι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ Cε[ρήνου]  
 [το]ῦ καὶ Cα[ραπίωνος] βασιλικ(οῦ) γραμμ[ατ(έως)]  
 ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πυροῦ ε] συναγοραστικ(οῦ)  
 10 γενή[μα]τ[ος ἰς (ἔτους) Ἀντωνεί]νου  
 Καίσαρος [τοῦ κυρ]ίου [οὗ ἐμέ]τρησα  
 διὰ χει[ρο]λογίας ἄνω τόπω[ν Μο-]  
 νίμου τόπ[ων] ἔ λόγου κολλη[μά]τος ἰγ  
 ἀρτάβας ἰ ὡς τῆς ἀρτάβης δραχ[μῶν]  
 15 ὀκτώ τὰς συνα[γο]μέν[ας] δραχ(μὰς)  
 ὀγδοήκοντα, [γίν]ονται) (δραχμαὶ) π. [ἔ]τους [ι]ζ  
 Αὐτ[οκράτορος]

Back: much-rubbed remains of a one-line docket: ?Μεχείρ] κ̄α Cιωθῶ(ν)ει]. Cf. 2962.  
 10 γ of γενήματος corr. Filler-stroke at end of line 12 l. τοπαρχίας 14 ἀρτάβας: β corr.  
 from ε, and α following also corr. 15 At end, apparently δραχ[μ]

15 See the apparatus. There would have been room for the word in full.

## 2967

27 3B. 43/E(1-3)b

6.4 × 31.5 cm.

3-7 March A.D. 154

- Φαμ(ενὼθ) ἰγ (δραχμαὶ) οη (τετρώβολον).  
 Ἀχιλλᾶς Cερ[θ]έως τοῦ  
 [.]. [.]. . μητρ(ός) Τα ἡ'οῦ[η]τος ἀπὸ  
 κόμης .ε. [± 3]. Αἰλίω  
 5 Ἀφροδ(εῖω) στρο(ατηγῶ) χαίρ[ειν].  
 ἀπέχω πα[ρ]ὰ Cαρα(πίωνος) καὶ μ'(ετόχων)  
 δημο(σίων) τρ[α](πεζιτών) [τὰ]ς ἐ[πι]ταλ(είας)  
 μοι ὑπὸ σοῦ κ[αὶ] Cερή(νου) τοῦ κ[αὶ]  
 C[α]ρα(πίωνος) βασ[ι]λ(ικοῦ) γραμματέως ὑ(πὲρ) τιμῆς  
 10 (πυροῦ) συναγοραστικοῦ οὗ ἐμέτρησα  
 δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) μέσ(ης) το(παρχίας) Cκῶ [τό](πων) δ  
 λόγ(ου) κολλη(ματος) ἰζ (ἀρτάβας) θ δ χ(οίνικας) δ  
 ὡς τ(ῆς) ἀρτάβης (δραχμῶν) η ἀκολουθως  
 τοῖς κελευθ(εῖσι) τὰς συναγο(μένας)  
 15 ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἐβδομήκοντα

- ὀκτώ (τετράβολον), (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) οη (τετράβολον)  
 πλήρεις. (ἔτους) ιζ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου  
 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου
- 20 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς,  
 Φαμε(νώθ) ζ. (m. 2) Ἀχιλλᾶς  
 Σευθέος ἀπέχ-  
 ω τὰς δραχμὰς  
 ἑβδομήκοντα
- 25 ὀκτώ τετρόβο-  
 λον πλήρης ὡς  
 πρόκειται.

3 Of the name at the beginning, the first trace is a low tail, the last two perhaps οη 22 l.  
 Σευθέως 25 κ of ὀκτώ corr.

1 Phamenoth 11 78 dr. 4 obols.  
 2 'Achillas son of Sentheus son of . . . , his mother being Taeous, of the village of . . . to Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus, greetings. I have received from Sarapion and partners, public bankers, the aggregate sum in full of seventy-eight drachmas 4 obols, payment of which was authorized by you and Serenus also called Sarapion, basilicogrammateus, on account of the price of requisitioned wheat at 8 drachmas per artaba of which I paid, in accordance with instructions, 9½ artabas 4 choenices through the sitologi of the middle toparchy, district of Sko, 4th account, sheet 37; total 78 dr. 4 obols. The seventeenth year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phamenoth 7.' (2nd hand) 'I, Achillas, son of Sentheus, have received the seventy-eight drachmas four obols in full as aforesaid.'

1 For the docket cf. 2961. 1 n.

2 Σευ[θ]έως: see l. 22 n.

12 There are 48 choenices to the artaba here.

21 ζ: has the day been altered? There is an unexplained fine tail of ink running down and through the next line.

22 Σευθέος: ν rather than υ. Presumably this name is to be read in l. 2 above, although the lacuna there seems wide to contain only θ.

### 2968. RECEIPT FOR THE PRICE OF *πυρὸς συναγοραστικὸς*

5 1 B. 39/H(a)

8.4 × 16.4 cm.

Between 28 August and  
 25 September A.D. 190

In this document, to which the three receipts of PSI 1262 and 2961-67 are parallel, Thaisous records that she has received payment for grain sold to the government both by herself and by another woman. This one belongs to a period later than any of the preceding receipts 2961-67. Unfortunately the section containing the price paid has been lost. The back is blank.

- Θαισοῦς Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεώνος  
 μητρὸς Ταυσοράπιος ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλεω[ς]  
 μετὰ κυρίου Σεύθου Ἀμμωνᾶτο[ς]  
 τοῦ Διονυσίου μητρὸς Πτολέμας
- 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Ἡρα-  
 κλείδῃ καὶ μετόχοις δημοσίω  
 τραπεζεῖταις χαίρειν. ἀπέ-  
 χον παρ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπισταλεί-  
 κας μοι ὑπὸ *Καραπίωνος στρα(τηγοῦ)*
- 10 καὶ *Καραπανούβιδος βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρα(μματέως)*  
 ὑπὲρ τειμῆς πυροῦ συναγοραστ(ικοῦ)  
 κελευθ(έντος) ὑπὸ *Τινηίου Δημη-  
 τρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμό(νος)*  
*συωνηθῆναι ἀπὸ γενήματος*
- 15 τοῦ διελθ(όντος) λ (ἔτους) οὗ ἐμέτρησα διὰ *κει-  
 τολογίας ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας) Ἐντεῖως*  
*ἢ λόγου κολ(λήματος) ᾱ · Ἰέμη (ἀρτάβας) α (ἡμις) χ(οίνικα) α,  
 Σερύφειως (ἀρτάβας) β (ἡμις) ἦ, Πακέρκη  
 ἀπηλ(ώτου) (ἀρτάβην) α, Ἰώνθειως χ(οίνικας) η,*
- 20 καὶ ὑπὲρ *Διδυμαρίου Ἰσι[δ]ώρου*  
*Ἰέμη (ἀρτάβην) α .[.....].  
 ....].*

1 θαισοῦς 2 οξ̄ 8 ὑμων 9 ὑπο, στρ[ς] 10 βασι, γρ<sup>λ</sup> 11 ὑπερ, συναγοραστ<sup>τ</sup>  
 12 κελευθ, ὑπο 13 ἡγεμ<sup>ο</sup> 15 διελθ 16 το<sup>τ</sup> 17 κο, ἰεμη 19 ἀπη, ἰωνθειως  
 20 ὑπερ, ἰσι[δ]ώρου 21 ἰεμη

'Thaisous, daughter of Dionysius, son of Theon, mother Tausorapis, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, with her guardian Seuthes, son of Ammonas, son of Dionysius, mother Ptolema, from the same city, to Heracleides and his fellow bankers of public (funds), greetings. I have received from you [so many drachmas], authorized to be paid to me by order of Sarapion, strategus, and Sarapanoubis, royal scribe, for the price of requisitioned wheat which was commanded to be bought up from the crop of the past thirtieth year by Tineius Demetrius the most illustrious prefect, of which I measured out through the office of the sitologi of the Upper toparchy at Enteiis, eighth account, sheet one, for Ieme 1½ artabas and 1 choenix, for Seryphis 2½ artabas, for Pakerke in the Eastern toparchy 1 artaba, for Ionthis 8 choenices, and on behalf of Didymarion, daughter of Isidorus, for Ieme 1 artaba. . .'

9 For Sarapion see P. Princ. II 27 8 of A.D. 191/2. He may be the same person as Evangelius alias Sarapion attested as a strategus by 801 on 15 September A.D. 193.

10 Sarapanoubis is a new royal scribe. For the name cf. *Καραπανούβις*, SB I 5272, 31.

13 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμό(νος). The expansion of the abbreviation is important for the date of

the document and because it provides a new *terminus post quem* for the prefect Tineius Demetrius, namely 28 August A.D. 190, the last day of Commodus' thirtieth regnal year, cf. 15. His successor was already in office by 25 September A.D. 190, see P. Bas. 2 7-8. It is not permissible to expand the abbreviation as ἡγεμο(νεύσαντος), because that would require λαμπρότατα instead of λαμπροτάτου, see 2104 20, SPP xx 64. 8, P. Lond. inv. 2226 (Lallemant, *L'Administration*, p. 265 and cf. 2674 3 n.), P. Lond. III 946 (pp. 31-2), revised in Stein, *Präfekten*, p. 130. For earlier evidence on Tineius Demetrius see *BASP* IV (1967), pp. 102-3, 2762, 2800.

## 2969. UNDERTAKING TO TEND A PERSEA TREE

3 I B. 85/D(8)a+3 I B. 85/D(11)a 11 × 11.5 + 4.5 × 6 cm.

A.D. 323

Three men and their associates undertake to tend a persea tree which has been planted near their home. They are not professional contractors paid for their work but men of various trades who have apparently been entrusted with the tree because it was located conveniently to their lodgings, and perhaps because they could afford to replace it in case of loss (23, note). Cf. the very similar 2767.

The fullest discussions of the persea tree (*Mimusops Schimperi Hochstett*), together with illustrations, are given by Ludwig Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1924), I, pp. 31 ff. and Suppl. *Annales du Service* v (1947), pp. 36-46; cf. further Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 312-14; PSI IV 285; 53; 1188; 2993; 2994.

Only the top half and the badly mutilated subscription to this papyrus remain. For the restorations see 2767 and 2993 - a large fragment from the bottom of what is very probably a duplicate to the present contract. The back is blank.

- τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ̄.  
 Διοσκουρίδῃ λογιζτῆ Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 παρὰ Τιμοθέου χαλκοτύπου καὶ Εὐπορίωνος  
 ὀθονιακοῦ καὶ Μώρου ἀναγνώστου,  
 5 πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν  
 μετόχων. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀμνύντες  
 τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν  
 ἡμῶν ἀνικήτω[ν] βασιλέων πάσαν ἐπιμέλιαν  
 καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ποτι-  
 10 σμοὺς ἀδιαλίπτως ἐπάναγκες ποιήσασ-  
 θαι [τῆς ἐ]κ μίζονος προστάξεωσ  
 νε[ωστὶ κα]τατεθείσης περιείας πρὸς τοῖς  
 ἡμετ[έροις οἴκοι]ς ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας πλ[α-]  
 τί[α]ς πρὸς τὸ ζω[ο]γ[ο]ν[ο]ν καὶ εὐθαλεῖν δ[ι]α[σ]-  
 15 [παντός, ἔτι τε καὶ τῆν] τήρησιν καὶ [παρα-]  
 [φυλακὴν τῆς πε]ριβολῆς τῆ[ς ἀνοικο-]

[δομηῆς τῆς αὐτῆς περιείας ποιήσασθαι]

(fragment 2)

- (m. 2) Τιμόθεος ἐπ[ιδεδώκαμεν].  
 Ἀπίωνος ἔ[γγραφα ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτ(οῦ) γράμ(ματα)]  
 20 μὴ εἰδ(ότος) (m. 3) Εὐ[πορίων ἐπιδεδώ-]  
 καμ[εν. (m. 4) Μώρος ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.]  
 Ὁρίων ἔγγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ἐρ) [αὐτ(οῦ) βεβλαμμένου τὰς ὄψεις.]  
 (m. 5) οἰκόπ[εδα Μώρου ἀναγνώ-]  
 στου. ἢ π[ερίερα ἰζ' (?)]

2 ὀξυρυγχείτου  
 ἐπαναγ' κεσ

4 corrected from ὀθονιακός καὶ Μώρος ἀναγνώστης 10 l. ἀδιαλείπτως;

'Consulship of the consuls to be designated for the third time. To Dioscurides, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Timotheus, bronze-worker, Euporion, dealer in linens, Morus, reader, all from the same city, and their associates. We agree under the august and sacred oath by the genius of our lords the invincible kings, that we shall of necessity take every care of and perform every service to and ceaselessly carry out the customary watering of the persea tree which has recently by order of higher authority been planted near our dwellings on the public avenue, so that it shall live and prosper; and further, that we shall protect and guard the extent of the protective structure (?) of the same persea tree. . .

(2nd hand) 'Submitted by me, Timotheus, I, . . ., son of Apion (?), have written on his behalf, as he is illiterate. (3rd hand) Submitted by me, Euporion. (4th hand) Submitted by me, Morus, I, Horion, have written on his behalf, as his eyes have been injured.

(5th hand) 'Building sites belonging to Morus, reader. The persea tree. 17th. (?)'

1 For the form of the date, cf. 2767, 1 note.

4 ἀναγνώστου: may be either a pagan who earns his living by reading or a Christian lector (for which cf. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane*, pp. 74 f.).

11 ἐ]κ μίζονος προστάξεωσ: for other agricultural regulations emanating from 'higher authority' (presumably the prefect or catholicus) near this date, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 78, introd.; and for government interest in the persea tree in particular, Cod. Just. xi 78.

16-17 τῆς πε]ριβολῆς τῆ[ς ἀνοικοδομηῆς: ἀνοικοδομηῆς is restored following 2993, 3; it should also be restored in 2767, 20 instead of ἀν[αδρ]ομηῆς. The word elsewhere means 'act of restoration', but here must refer to a specific structure which can be guarded, presumably some kind of protecting enclosure about the tree. Outside 2767, 20, 2993, 2-3, and the present text, the only papyrus reference to περιβολή is P. Lond. v 1877, 9: the translation 'extent' seems to suit all four passages. The word does not simply = περιβολος.

18-24 For the restorations, cf. 2993, 8 ff.

18 After ἐπ[ιδεδώκαμεν] a very short or abbreviated name may have been lost. Otherwise Ἀπίωνος is an error for the nominative. So also 2993, 8.

23-4 The meaning of these lines is unclear. Cf. the equally enigmatic 2767, 30-3.

23 οἰκόπ[εδα Μώρου]: for οἰκόπεδα see 2993, 13. Similarly in 2767, 31 f., where ἀπὸ οἰκ(σπέδων) Ὁρίων[ε-]/[ν]ουσ (one of the subscribers) may be read. This item is reminiscent of the πόρος statements in liturgical nominations and may be meant to demonstrate that at least one of the contracting parties had means to replace the tree if necessary.

24 ἰζ': supplied from 2993, 14, but as the significance of the number is uncertain the figure may have differed here.

## VII. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

## 2970. RECEIPT OF PRODUCE IN WINE

34 4B. 76/K(4-5)a

9.9 × 14.6 cm.

13 October A.D. 62

This document, hastily written and inexpertly drafted, has the following background: Ischyriion son of Dionysius made a lease, probably of a vineyard, to an ἀμπελοργός (name now lost), in the eighth year of Nero. In that lease Ischyriion inserted a clause protecting himself from any damage to the produce of wine of the seventh year; this wine he had stored in an open-air shed (ἡλιαστήριον). Now, towards the beginning of year 9, he has received the stored produce from the lessee, and acknowledges the fact in the present receipt.

A similar situation lies behind 1631, a contract for labour in a vineyard and lease of a garden: here the lessees undertake to put wine-casks in the ἡλιαστήριον and watch over them as long as they are stored there. For a discussion of this passage, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 288 f.

On the back are three faded and illegible lines, written across the fibres.

→ . . . . . Ἰσχυρίων Διονυσίου [ . . . . .  
 Δι[ . ] . . . [ . ] υ ἀμπελ . . ωργῶι χ(αίρειν) · [ἐπε]ῖ ἐ[ν ἡ  
 τέθειμαί σοι μισθῶσει τῶι διεληλυ-  
 θότι η (ἔτει) Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 5 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔγραψα μὴ ἐ-  
 λαττουμένου μου ἐν ᾧ εἶχον ἐν ἡλι-  
 αστηρίωι οὐνικῶι γενήματι τοῦ ζ (ἔτους)  
 διὰ σοῦ, ὁμολογῶι πᾶν τὸ αὐτὸ γένη-  
 μα παρεληφέναι με τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζ (ἔτους)  
 10 καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐγκαλῶι περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 γενήματος, μὴ ἐλαττουμένου  
 ὑμῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν τῇ δηλου-  
 μένη μισθῶσει. (ἔτους) θ Νέρωνος  
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 15 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶ(φι)  
 ις

2 χ 4 ηλ 7 ζλ 8 l. ὁμολογῶ 10 l. ἐγκαλῶ 11 l. ἐλαττουμένου 15 φ<sup>α</sup>

Ischyriion son of Dionysius to . . . , vine-dresser, greetings. Whereas in the lease which I made to you in the past eighth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator I added a

clause that I was to suffer no loss at your hands in the matter of the produce in wine of the seventh year, which I had in the open-air shed, I acknowledge that I have received all the said produce of the said seventh year, and I bring no charge against you concerning the said produce, and both of you (*sic*) shall suffer no loss in the aforementioned lease. Year 9 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 16.

1 Ἰσχυρίων Διονυσίου: the son of a person of this name figures in an unpublished receipt for salary of A.D. 92. If this name is to be restored here, the line must have been indented. Indentation of the first line is rare: examples are 117, 1220, P. Mich. VIII 499, PSI VII 825, XIII 1333 and 1334.

2 Δι[ . ] . . . [ . ] υ: presumably the vine-dresser's patronymic, ending in -[ο]υ.

ἀμπελ . . ωργῶι: perhaps ἀμπελ(ο)ργῶι, l. -ουργῶι. Alternatively we might write ἀμπελο(γ)εωργῶι, where the misspelling is easily explained phonetically (Maysers I. I. 163). But the word is not attested; and the only parallel formation, *αιτογεωργός*, is confined to the poetical context Vett. Valens 76. 10.

ἐπε]ῖ κτλ.: for the construction, cf. 2135. 3 f.

5 f. μὴ ἐλαττουμένου: see 2973. 29 n.

6 f. ἡλιαστηρίωι: see A. Swiderek, *La propriété foncière privée*, p. 60, note to line 85.

8 διὰ σοῦ: διὰ for ὑπό, Maysers 2. 2. 422 f. and especially 423. 14.

11 f. ὑμῶν ἀμφοτέρων: ὑμῶν may be a mistake for ἡμῶν, but I have found no example of the μὴ ἐλαττουμένου clause giving bilateral coverage. More likely is the assumption that though only one lessee is elsewhere spoken of, the lease actually concerned two persons. Cf. P. Mich. inv. 724 (BASP VI (1969), pp. 5 ff.): here three lessees are involved, but in line 31 (see note) only one of them is referred to. In P. Mich. inv. 735 (BASP loc. cit. pp. 9 ff.) there is complete confusion as to the number of lessors and lessees involved (see editor's introduction and notes to ll. 11 and 16). For ἐλαττουμένου with a plural subject cf. P. Mich. v 341. 7 f.; with a feminine subject *ibid.* 276. 13, 34.

## 2971. CONTRACT OF APPRENTICESHIP

21 3B. 23/F(18-19)a

9 × 36 cm.

11 March A.D. 66

A contract of apprenticeship to a weaver, damaged in the lower centre but otherwise well preserved. Cf. 275, also to a weaver and dated A.D. 66; for recent examples, cf. 2977 and 2586, where further references are given. 2971 is in two pieces, the break coming between lines 29 and 30; the papyrus is seriously mutilated at this point, particularly in 30-1, but the reading proposed for 30 suggests that that line does follow directly on 29. The papyrus has a lower margin of 8.5 cm.; the back is blank except for a docket along the fibres at the foot, ὁμολ( ) διδεκακαλ( ) (*sic*).

→ Ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀ[λλήλ]οις Τασεῦς Ἡρ[α-]  
 κλᾶτος μετὰ κυρίο[υ το]ῦ ἑαυτῆς ὁμογν[η-]  
 κύου ἀδελφοῦ C[. . .] καὶ Cεύθης Διογέ(νου)  
 τοῦ Διονυσίου γέ[ρ]διος ἡ μὲν Τασεῦς  
 5 ἐγδεδόσθαι τῶ[ι Cε]ύθῃ τὸν ἑαυτῆς υ(ἰόν)  
 Ἡρακλᾶν Ἀπολλῶ . . [ . ] οὐδέπω ὄντα  
 τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς γερδι-  
 ακῆς τέχνης ἐπ' ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας

10 ἔξ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας ποι-  
 οῦντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα αὐτῶι  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεύθου κατὰ τὴν γερδιακὴν τέ-  
 χνην. ὁ δὲ Σεύθης καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκδιδάξει  
 τοῦτον καθὼς ἐπίσταται, τοῦ παιδὸς  
 τρεφομένου καὶ ἱματιζομένου ὑπὸ  
 15 τοῦ διδασκάλου Σεύθου, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Σεύ-  
 θης διορθώσεται τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς  
 χειρωνάξιον σὺν κατακρίματι τῶν  
 δύο ἡμίτους ἐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῶι  
 αὐτῶι χρόνῳ ὁ παῖς ἀπαιτηθῆῖ λαο-  
 20 γραφίαν ἢ χωματικὸν ἢ ὑκὴν ἔσται  
 πρὸς τὸν αὐτ[ὸ]ν [C]εύθην. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς  
 Σεύθης, ἐὰν μὴ βούληται ὁ παῖς ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ διδασκάλου τρέφεσθαι, χωρηγή-  
 25 ρει τῆ Τα[ε]ῦτι ὑπὲρ τῶν τούτου τρο-  
 φείων κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου  
 δραχμὰς [π]έντε καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον  
 δώσει τ[ῶ]ι παιδί ὑπάγοντι χιτῶνα  
 [ἀξί]ον δρ[αχ]μῶν δεκαδύο ἢ αὐτὰς τὰς  
 [δραχμὰς δεκαδύο.] ἀργήσει δὲ ὁ παῖς  
 . . . . .  
 30 [c. 15 ll.] . . . . Ἀ[με]νείου[ε]  
 [c. 11 ll.] . . . . [ὄ]σας δ' ἀ[ν] μετ[ὰ] ταύ-  
 [τας ὁ παῖς ἀργ]ήσει, ἐπὶ τὰς ἵσας αὐτὸν παρ-  
 [έ]ξεται ἢ Ταε[υ]ς μετὰ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἀ[πο-]  
 [τειάτω ἑκάστη]ς ἡμέ[ρα]ς δραχμὴν μία[ν],  
 35 [τοῦ δὲ ἀποσπ]αρθῆν[α]ι πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου[ν]  
 ἐπ[ὶ] τ[ε]μ[ε]ο[ν] ἀρ[γ]υρίου (δραχμὰς) ἑκατ[ὸ]ν καὶ εἰς τὸ  
 δημόσιον)  
 τὰς ἵσας. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σεύθης μὴ ἐγ-  
 διδάξη τὸν παῖδα ἐνεχέσθω[ι] τῶ ἴσῳ  
 ἐπιτείμῳ. κυρία ἢ διδασκαλική. (ἔτους) ἱβ  
 40 Νέρωνος Κ[λαυ]δίου Κ[α]ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ [Ἀ]τ[ρο]κράτορος, Φ[α]μενωθ[ὶ] ἱε.

(m. 2) Σεύθης Δ[ιο]γένους ἐγδιδάξω  
 τὸν παῖδ[α] καὶ ποιήσω καθότι  
 πρόκιτα[ι]. (ἔτους) ἱβ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου(ν)  
 45 Καίσαρος Σεβα[σ]τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 Ἀυτοκράτορο[ς], Φαμενωθ[ὶ] ἱε.

1-2 H of 'Hρακλάτος corr. 3 C corr. from δ, or read δ corr. from c 8 τ of τέχνης corr.  
 15 l. διδασκάλου; so in 23; also cf. 39 17 σὺν corr. 27 τ of χιτῶνα corr. 42 l. Διογένους  
 46 -θ ἱε

'Taseus, daughter of Heraclas, with her full brother [ ] as guardian, and Seuthes son of Diogenes, son of Dionysius, weaver, acknowledge to one another, Taseus that she has handed over to Seuthes her son Heraclas, son of Apollo[ ], who is not yet of age, to learn the craft of weaving for a period of two years and six months from the present day, (the boy) carrying out all the instructions given to him by Seuthes pertaining to the craft of weaving. Seuthes for his part will teach him in accordance with his own knowledge, the boy being maintained and clothed by the teacher Seuthes, and Seuthes too is to pay the trade-tax due on the boy, together with the fine, for the two and a half years; and if during that time the boy shall be required to pay poll-tax or dike-tax or pig-tax, these too shall be incumbent on the said Seuthes. If the boy does not wish to be maintained by the teacher, Seuthes is to pay to Taseus for his maintenance each month five silver drachmas, and after the period he is to give the boy on his departure a tunic worth twelve drachmas, or the twelve drachmas themselves. The boy will have holidays . . . at the Amesyria . . . ; but for as many days as the boy is idle besides these, Taseus shall deliver him for an equal number of days after the period, or pay a penalty of a drachma for each day; but for withdrawing him before the period is up she shall pay a fine of a hundred silver drachmas and the same sum to the State. Should Seuthes for his part not teach the boy, he shall be liable to the same fine. This contract of apprenticeship is valid. The twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phamenoth 15.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Seuthes son of Diogenes, shall teach the boy and shall do as aforesaid. The 12th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phamenoth 15.'

1 Taseus: this same person recurs in a registration of inheritance dated A.D. 72 found together with 2971 but not yet published.

17 χειρωνάξιον: this text supplies the proof lacking to Wallace (*Taxation*, pp. 192-3) that χειρωνάξιον was imposed on minors, since the apprentice is οὐδέπω ὄντα τῶν ἐτῶν (ll. 6-7), and even should he become of age during the period of the apprenticeship, the χειρωνάξιον is due for δύο ἡμίτους ἐτῶν (18), unless this can be taken with σὺν κατακρίματι (on which see e.g. Wallace, op. cit. p. 114) only. The uncertainty over the payment of poll-tax (18 seqq.) is interesting. The same uncertainty recurs in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus dated September A.D. 54, with more or less identical wording, but in which the list of taxes includes τῆς τέχνης δημόσια, which seems to contradict the preceding conclusions about χειρωνάξιον. It may be that the ἐάν-clause is a blanket clause designed to cope with apprentices of whatever age, although this does not remove the contradiction; a solution thereto may be that the conditional form of the clause is purely stylistic, the sense being 'any and all charges made on the boy in respect of the stated taxes'. The conclusions concerning χειρωνάξιον from 2971. 15-18 still remain valid.

The same conclusion over χειρωνάξιον might perhaps have been deduced from 322. 26 (*Aeg.* XLVI (1966), p. 211; = SB 10236), which has χειρωνάξιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, where τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου should refer to the whole period (cf. 23-4), in the case of a minor apprenticed for two years (and apparently of age during this period, cf. 31).

30 Ἀμενείου: cf. 2586. 41.

32 The supplement is conjectural: the difficulty is due in some measure to the uncertain reading at the end of 31. Proposed final hypsilon might well be sigma, so that one might have e.g. μετὰ τὰς (number of days). ἀργήσει: the most probable verb, especially if 30 follows directly on 29 (see introd.). ἀτακτήσει, ἀσθενήσει, would be alternatives.

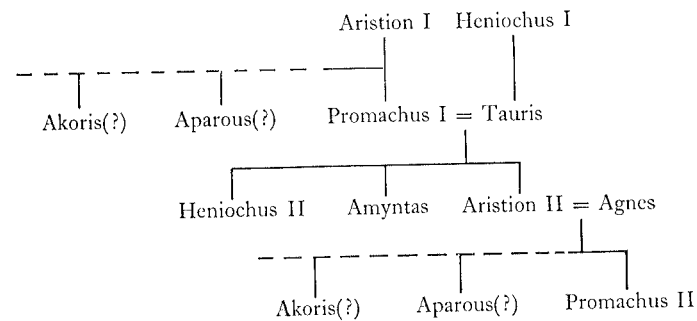
## 2972. SALE OF HALF A HOUSE AND LANDS

36 4B. 92/H(3)

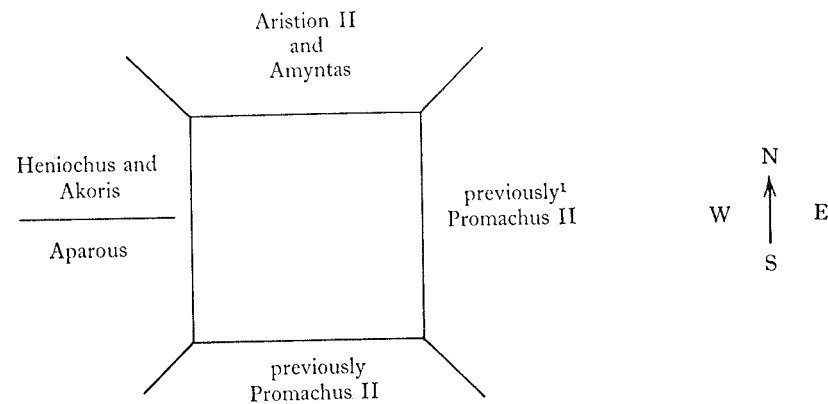
14.3 × 25.9 cm.

30 August A.D. 72 (?)

A copy of a sale of half a house and some land to Promachus, whose father Aristion acts for him because he is away from home, and his mother Agnes. This sale apparently eliminates half of an enclave in what was previously (cf. l. 21 n.) a family domain, as the stemma and diagram below show. The contract is in the form of an objective homologia of which no other examples at Oxyrhynchus or in the Oxyrhynchite nome are given by O. Montevicchi in her list of sales in *Aeg.* XXI (1941), pp. 93 ff. The document is broken at the bottom and lacks the measurements of the property and the warranty clause. The writing is across the fibres and the back is blank. There is a kollesis join at l. 23.



The only doubtful point is whether Akoris and Aparous are the children of Aristion I or II; however the particular identification of Aristion II in ll. 21 and 22 may favour Aristion I here.



<sup>1</sup> See note on l. 21 about the status of Promachus's property.

↓ ἀντίγρα(φον). ἔτους πέμπτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ (μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ) β', ἐν κώμῃ Νεμερῶν τῆς μέσης τοπαρχίας τοῦ  
 Ὀξυρυγχείτου.

ὁμολογοῦσιν Διονύσιος καὶ Μνησιθῆς ἀμφότεροι Θέωνος τοῦ  
 Θέωνος μητρὸς Cινοθῶνιος τῆς καὶ Ὁφελούτος τῆς Cαρα-  
 5 πίωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγγων πόλεως (vac.) Ἀριστίωνι Προμάχου  
 τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος μητρὸς Ταύριος τῆς Ἡνιόχου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως (vac.) καὶ τῆς τούτου γυναικὸς Ἀγνήϊ Πτολεμαίου  
 τοῦ Πτολεμ[μ]αί[ο]υ μητρὸς Cεναμόνιος τῆς Διονυσίου τῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης κώμης Νεμερῶν μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ  
 10 αὐτοῦ Ἀριστίων[ο]ς ἐν ἀγνιᾷ πεπρακέναι τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας  
 τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστίων[ο]ς καὶ Ἀγνήτος υἱῶν Προμάχῳ ὄντι γυνεὶ  
 ἀποδήμῳ καὶ [τ]ῆς Ἀγνήϊ τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτοῖς μητρικὸν  
 ἡμῖν μέρ[ο]ς οἰκίας ἐγ μέρους συμπεπτωκυίας καὶ τῶν  
 ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου ταύτης τόπων λεγομένων προνησίου  
 15 καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου καὶ τῶν συνκυρόντων  
 τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ δηλ[ο]υμένη κώμῃ Νεμερῶν ἀφ' ὧν  
 τῶν μὲν Προμάχῳ ἡμῖν τέταρτον ὄγδρον ἑκκαδέκατον  
 μέρος τοῦ δηλουμένου ἡμῖν μέρους τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τόπων  
 τῇ δὲ Ἀγνήϊ [τ]ὸ λοιπ[ό]ν ἑκκαδέκατον μέρος τούτων·  
 20 γ]εῖτονες τῆ[ς] ὀλλ[η]ς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν τόπων νότου καὶ  
 ἀπηλιώτου πρότερον Προμάχου τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος νεω-  
 τέρου βορρᾶ τοῦ τε προγεγραμμένου Ἀριστίωνος καὶ τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ Ἀμύντου λιβὸς ἐγ μὲν τοῦ  
 ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρους τοῦ τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος καὶ Ἀ-  
 25 μύντου ἑτέρου ἀδελφοῦ Ἡνιόχου καὶ Ἀκώριος τοῦ  
 Ἀριστίωνος ἐγ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου Ἀπαροῦτος τῆς Ἀριστίωνος.  
 καὶ αὐτόθεν ἀπέχειν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας παρὰ μὲν τοῦ  
 Ἀριστίωνος εἰς τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Προμάχου λόγον  
 30 πα]ρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀγνήτος εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον τὴν συμπε-  
 φωνη]μένην πρὸ[ς] ἀλλ]ήλους τούτου τιμ[ῆ]ν καθ' ἃ  
 ἕκαστος ἔχει μέρη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τιμ[ῆ]ν ἀργυρίου  
 δραχ]μὰς ἑπτακοσίας πενήκοντα δύο ἐκ πλήρους  
 διὰ χε]ρὸς ἐξ οἴκου. κρατεῖν οὖν καὶ κυριεύειν ἕκαστος  
 τῶν ὠνουμένων τῶν τε Προμάχ[ο]ν καὶ τῆς Ἀγνήϊ

35 καθ' ἃ ἔ]καστον αὐτῶν ἔχει μέρη[ι] καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκο-  
νομεῖν] περὶ αὐτοῦ καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρήται τρόπον καὶ ἐπά-  
ναγκ]ον τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας παρέξασθαι τῶι  
Προμ]άχῳ καὶ Ἀγνῆι τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν μέρος  
τῆ]ς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν τῶπων ὃ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου

1 αντιγρα<sup>+</sup> 13 l. ἐκ 23 l. ἐκ 24 τοῦ τοῦ first *v* corrected from τ 26 l. ἐκ 35 l.  
ἐκαστος

'Copy. Fifth year of Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus second (of Sebastus) in the village of Nemeræ of the middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite (nome). Dionysius and Mnesithes, both sons of Theon son of Theon, and of Sinthoonis also called Ophelous daughter of Sarapion, of the city of the Oxyrhynchite agree with Aristion, son of Promachus son of Aristion, and of Tauris daughter of Heniochus of the same city and with his wife Agnes, daughter of Ptolemaeus son of Ptolemaeus, and of Senamounis daughter of Dionysius, of the aforementioned village of Nemeræ, acting with the same Aristion as her guardian, (the document drawn up) in the street, that the sellers have sold to Promachus son of Aristion and Agnes, who is at present away from home, and to Agnes the half share of a partially fallen-down house belonging to them through their mother and of the lands to the east of it called of the veranda (?) and of the entrance to and exit from it and of the appurtenances which are in the aforesaid village of Nemeræ: of which 15/16 of the aforesaid half-share of a house and of lands to Promachus and the remaining 1/16 share of them to Agnes. The neighbours of the whole house and property are: on the south and east (property) previously of Promachus son of Aristion the younger, on the north of the aforesaid Aristion and of his brother Amyntas, on the west first in the northern (section property) of Heniochus another brother of Aristion and Amyntas and of Akoris son of Aristion, and in the southern (section property) of Aparous daughter of Aristion. And (they agree) that the sellers will receive immediately from Aristion on behalf of his son Promachus and from Agnes on her own behalf the price agreed among them in proportion as each has shares the price (being) in all 752 silver drachmae in full in cash and that each of the purchasers, Promachus and Agnes, as each has shares, is to own and be master and use and dispose of it in whatever way he choose and that it is incumbent on the sellers to provide Promachus and Agnes this same half-share of the house and property which is on the south side...'

1-2 The most common form of titlature for Vespasian is *Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστός*, but there are a few examples of *Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπασιανός* (P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* [Brussels, 1964], pp. 38-9). If this is another of the latter, *Σεβαστοῦ* may be taken as the month, i.e. Thoth, August/September. Otherwise the name of the month is missing and the most likely hypothesis is that *μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ* has fallen out through haplography. On these grounds 30 August A.D. 72 is preferred to the eleven other possibilities.

3 *Μνησιθῆς* cf. 2837, 8-9 *Μνησιθῆς Πετε[[co]ύχου*. Elsewhere in the Comon archive the same name is spelled in the usual way: *Μνησιθεός*.

7 Ἀγνῆι: 11 and 29 Ἀγνήτος. *NB* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* give no examples of Ἀγνής, although *NB* does have one Ἀγνή. The genitive form in this document does establish the nominative which appears to be the Greek original for the Roman St Agnes. It should be noted that in Latin the name Agnes is found with three genitives: Agnes, Agnetis, Agnae.

8 Διονύσιος: although from Oxyrhynchus here, he did own the land in Nemeræ which is being sold. He is, therefore, perhaps not unrelated to Διονύσιος προστάτης Νεμερών of 299, 4, a letter dated palaeographically to the end of the first century.

14 προνησίον: if this is a name it has not appeared previously (cf. *NB* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*). However, the word is known elsewhere as part of a house, tentatively defined as a veranda (cf. O. Montevicchi, *Aeg.* XXI (1941), p. 108). F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten* (Bonn, 1914), p. 57, thinks, appealing particularly to archaeological finds at Tell el Amarna, that it was an outbuilding, a veranda or pavilion built over the water, perhaps of a canal, connected

to the house by a path or footbridge. The syntax here is confusing, but would be all right if προνησίον were the name of a person, cf. Mayser II, 2, 188-9. If it does here refer to an outbuilding, as seems most probable from previous examples, the anaphora is explained by Mayser (II, 2, 29). The building obviously is a point of reference to locate the particular property and it really does not matter whether or not it still exists. On the basis of the context one must, if one does not wish to add a new name to *NB*, presume that 'property in the area of' or 'surrounding' the *pronesion* is meant.

21 πρότερον: At the time this document was drawn up the land surrounding the house and lands involved in this sale could not be a family domain if πρότερον has its usual meaning of 'formerly (but no longer)'. To permit that inference it would have to mean 'already' or 'previously purchased by', of which there are no examples.

23 To compensate for the rough surface of the papyrus here the scribe made larger and more clumsy letters.

24 The grammar is less than satisfactory. τοῦ τοῦ Ἀριστίωνος etc., although awkward, is not unexampled, cf. P. Hibeh 47, 2. Δημητρίου τοῦ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος υἱοῦ. ἕτερος is usually meant to signify another person of the same name; it is used before the name, cf. *WB* s.v., and thus is best taken with ἀδελφοῦ. On the confusion of ἕτερος and ἄλλος cf. Mayser II 2 88 f.

26 Ἀπαροῦς not in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

32 The price is high but not out of line. Unfortunately there are no parallel documents from Oxyrhynchus within ten years of this date. In 2720 (A.D. 41/54) one-twelfth of a two-storey house in Oxyrhynchus, but with no adjoining land, sold for nine talents of copper (slightly less than 1/6 the price here). In 99 (A.D. 55) half a three-storey house in the city with no land sold for thirty-two talents of bronze. In 577 (A.D. 118) two-thirds of a πατρικὸν μέρος of a house in the city, also with no land, was sold for 200 silver drachmas.

37 For confusion of aorist and future infinitive see Mayser I 2 163 f.

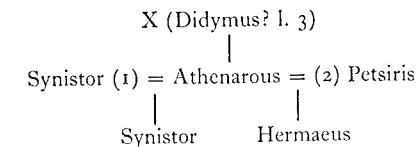
### 2973. SYNCHORESIS OF LEASE

26 3B. 48/G(22)a

15.4 × 34.5 cm.

25 September A.D. 103

A long, well-drafted land-lease, distinguished by two *addenda lexicis*, *εισοσπορία* (l. 25) and *χ.[.]σοπιός* (*χορτοποιός*, *χερσοποιός*? l. 26). The family relations of the lessor, Athenarous, may be set out thus:



The only other published land-leases in the synchoresis form are BGU IV 1118-21.

A first transcript of this text was made by G. M. Cohen in the course of an American summer school held at Princeton. The text was subsequently worked on by G. M. Browne. The version here published, prepared by the general editors, draws on the preliminary work of both these scholars.

→ Ἴσιδ[ώ]ρωι ἱερεῖ κ[α]ἰ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ π[ρ]ὸς τῆ ἐπι[μ]ελεῖα [τ]ῶν χρημα-  
τικ[τ]ῶν καὶ τῶν

ἄλλων κριτηρίων  
 [παρ]ὰ Ἀθην[αρου]τος τῆς Εὐνόμου τοῦ . . . μου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τόκα τῆς μέ-  
 5 [ης τοπαρχίας τ]οῦ [᾽Ο]ξυρυνγχείτου νομοῦ μετὰ κυρίου το[ῦ] υἱοῦ [᾽Ε]ρ-  
 μάλου τοῦ Πετ-  
 10 αῖρι[ος τ]ῶν [᾽Α]π[ὸ] τῆς μη[τρ]οπό[λε]ως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ᾽Οξυρυνγχείτου νομ[οῦ]  
 καὶ παρὰ ᾽Ω-  
 ρίωνος τοῦ ᾽Ορσενούφιου τοῦ . . . οὔτος [τ]ῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς μ]ητροπόλε-  
 ως· συχωρεῖ ὁ ᾽Ωρίων μεμισθῶσθαι παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηναροῦτος ἐπὶ χρόνον  
 ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἑβδόμου ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα  
 Τραιανοῦ  
 15 Σεβα[στο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ σπόρους κα[ὶ] καρ[πο]ὺς δ[ι]ὰ τῆς ὑπαρχού-  
 της τῶ ἑτέρῳ  
 αὐτ[ῆ]ς μὲν υἱῶ τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμαίου ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδ[ελ]φῶ Συνίστορι Συνίστορος  
 περὶ  
 τ[ῆ]ν προγεγραμμένην κώμην Τόκα ἐκ τοῦ Καλλ[ι]μάχου σὺν τῶ Βακχίου  
 κλήρῳ  
 ὑπὸ μίαν σφραγιεῖδα σειτικῆ[ς ἀ]ρούρης μιᾶς ἡμίκους τετάρτου, ἐκφορίου τοῦ  
 20 ἑστα-  
 μένου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἑξ, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν δύο  
 ἐτῶν  
 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαδύο αὐτόθεν ἀπέσχηκεν ἢ Ἀθηναροῦς παρὰ τοῦ ᾽Ωρίωνος,  
 ἔτι δὲ  
 15 ἀπέσχηκεν ἢ αὐτῆ Ἀθηναροῦς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ᾽Ωρίωνος διὰ χειρὸς καὶ τῶν  
 ἐκκε-  
 κομμένων ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς ἡμίκους τετάρτ[ο]ν ἀρούρης ἐρικίνων ξύλων τὴν τει-  
 μὴν τὰς συμπεφωνημένας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ, τῶν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς μιᾶς ἡμίσο[υ]ς τετάρ[του] ἀρούρης τελουμένων κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων  
 πάντων  
 20 σειτικῶν τε καὶ ἀργυρικῶν [δ]ιγτων πρὸς τὸν ᾽Ω[ρί]ωνα ὧν καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τῶν  
 δύο ἐτῶν ἀναδώσει ὁ ᾽Ωρίων τῆ Ἀθηναροῦτι τῶ Καισαρείῳ μηνὶ τοῦ εἰσιόντος  
 ὀγδόου ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορο[ς] Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 Δακικοῦ.  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν ᾽Ωρίωνα ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς μισθώσεως ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἑαυ-  
 τῶ παρεχόμενος σπέρματα καὶ ζεύγη καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν  
 ἀνήκοντα πάν-

τα, ποι[ε]ῖμενος τῶν ἐδαφῶν τὰ καθήκοντα ἔργα πάντα ὡς ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ τοῦ  
 χρόνου)  
 25 πληρωθέντος παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τὴν μίαν ἡμικυ τέταρτον ἄρουραν ἀπὸ  
 σειτοςπο-  
 ρίας καὶ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάσης χ[.]οποιοῦ δεικής, καὶ τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναροῦν  
 βεβαίαν αὐτῶ καὶ  
 ἀναφα[ί]ροτον παρασχέσθαι τὴν μίσθωσιν ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἐκτύνειν τῶ  
 ᾽Ωρίωνι  
 τὰ τε βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα καὶ ἄλλας ἐπίτειμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν  
 καθάπερ  
 ἐγ δίκης, μὴ ἐλαττωμένου τοῦ ᾽Ωρίωνος ὑπὲρ ὧν προφέρεται ὀφείλεσθαι  
 αὐτῶ  
 30 ὑπὸ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος τοῦ Συνίστορος πατρὸς Συνίστορος κατὰ δημοσίον  
 χρημα-  
 τισμὸν ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα ἐφ' αἷς περιέχει διαστολαῖς  
 πάσαις, μηδὲν ἦσσαν κυ[ρί]ων ὄντων τῶν συνκεχωρημένων. ἀξιο(ῦμεν).  
 (m. 2) Δωρίων κατακεχώρι(σται).  
 (m. 1) (ἔτους) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 35 Γερμανικοῦ  
 Δακικοῦ, μηνὸς [ε] Σεβαστοῦ κζ Σεβ(αστῆ).

Back: → two badly faded lines; in 2 ζ (ἔτους) can be read.

8 τραιαν<sup>ο</sup> 23 l. παρεχόμενον, cf. 24 24 χρον<sup>ο</sup> 32 αξιῶ 33 κατακεχωρ<sup>ο</sup> 34 ∟ξ 35 σεβ

'To Isidorus, priest and *archidicastes* and superintendent of the *chrematistae* and the other courts, from Athenarous, daughter of Eunomus son of . . . , from the village of Toka in the middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with her guardian who is her son Hermaeus son of Petsiris, from the metropolis of the same Oxyrhynchite nome, and from Horion, son of Orsenouphis son of . . . , from the same metropolis. Horion agrees that he had leased from Athenarous for a period of two years, starting from the present seventh year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, two sowings and harvests, the one and three-quarter arouras of grain land which belong to Synistor son of Synistor, who is the other son of Athenarous and brother of Hermaeus on the mother's side, located in the aforesaid village of Toka in the lot of Callimachus together with that of Bacchius and consisting of one parcel, at the agreed rent of six artabas of wheat for each year, and Athenarous has received from Horion on the spot the total of twelve artabas of wheat for the two years, and, further, the same Athenarous has also received from the same Horion, from hand to hand, the stipulated amount of forty-eight drachmas of silver, as the price for the brushwood removed from the one and three-quarter arouras. All the public taxes, both in grain and in money, which are paid each year on the one and three-quarter arouras, devolve upon Horion, and Horion will give the receipts for these taxes of the two years to Athenarous in the month Caesareus of the coming eighth year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. On these terms Horion himself shall assume the lease for the period, providing himself with seed and teams of oxen, and everything else which pertains to cultivation, performing all the requisite work on the



fields as is incumbent, and at the expiration of the period he will return the one and three-quarter arouras ready to sow with grain, free from all . . . underbrush, and Athenarous too will make the lease guaranteed for him and not liable to withdrawal for the period, or else she will pay to Horion the damages and expenses and a fine of an additional hundred drachmas of silver as if in accordance with a legal action. Horion shall incur no loss in the matter of the two hundred and sixty drachmas of silver which he claims are owed to him by Synistor, the deceased father of Synistor, in virtue of a public contract, in accordance with all the conditions which the contract contains, and none the less the provisions agreed upon shall remain valid. We request (registration).'

(2nd hand) 'Dorion. It has been registered.'

(1st hand) 'Year 7 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, month Sebastus 27, *dies augusta*.'

1 This Isidorus is probably not to be identified with the *archidicastes* Isidorus of P. Ryl. II 287, for the latter was drawn up in A.D. 130, some 27 years later than the present text.

3 . . . μου: the traces allow *Νόμου*, a name which is quoted only from PSI v 529. 2 and P. Hib. 108. In itself, *Διδύμου* would be more attractive, but it does not seem that the space will take *δυ*.

6 . . . κ. οὔτος: the first letter could be λ, π or τ. After κ an ο may have been written, then corrected to ω. Perhaps Π[ο]κροῦτος (1744, 10, 2964, 2) or Π[ε]κροῦτος (SB I 32. 1, 136. 2).

9 σπόρους κα[ὶ] καρπ[οῦς] δ[ύ]ο: cf. P. Corn. 10. 10 f. εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα, καρποὺς τέσσαρας, σπόρους τέσσαρας, i.e. 'four harvests and four sowings'; P. Hib. I 90. 5 εἰς ἑναυτὸν [ἕνα] σπόρον [ἕνα] καὶ θερικμὸν ἕνα. For a legal discussion of phrases of this type, see Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 299 f.; Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, p. 355 n. 1. The parallels quoted suggest that *σπόρους καὶ καρποῦς* stands in apposition to *ἔτη* (l. 8), not as object of *μεμισθῶσθαι*, and that the real object has here been put wrongly into the genitive and should be corrected to *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν . . . σειπικήν ἄρουραν μίαν ἧμιν τέταρτον* (9-12). It remains possible that the genitive should be accepted as depending on *σπόρους* etc., as the object of *μεμισθῶσθαι*.

11 ἐκ τοῦ Καλλ[ι]μάχου κτλ.: see F. Zucker, *Beob. z. d. permanenten Klerosnamen (Festschrift Oertel*, p. 105).

15 f. ἐκκεκομμένων κτλ.: i.e. the land was cleared of brushwood as a preliminary to sowing. See P. Merton I 27. 10 n.

25 σειπτοσπορία: *add. lexicis*. A similar formation, *χορτοσπορία*, appears in P. Oslo II 32. 11. Cf. also *φυτοσπορία* in Manetho Astrol. IV 433.

26 χ. [. . .] οποιού: 'I have considered *χ[ε]ρ[ρ]οποιού* and *χ[ο]ρ[ρ]οποιού*, both new words but regularly formed (see H. Cadell, "Vocabulaire de l'agriculture", *Proc. XII Congr. of Pap.* p. 70 f., for the many compounds in *χέρσο-* and *χορτο-*). Palaeographically, either is possible: after χ only a faint trace remains; the high horizontal which joins ο from the left would suit either ]ε or ]ρ. I prefer *χ[ε]ρ[ρ]οποιού*: note the connexion between *χέρσο* and *δείσα* in P. Tebt. 75. 74 (discussed by Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 10 f., 115 f.) *χέρσου διὰ τὸ παρακεῖ(σθαι) τῆι λοιπ(ῆι) ἀφόρ(φ) καὶ διὰ δείσει (l. δείσαν)*.' G.M.B.

27 ἐκτίνειν: this spelling of *ἐκτίνειν* has been found only in P. Mil. Vogl. I 26. 16 and BGU I 282. 40. These too are synchorese, and the appearance of -νν- in these impressive documents from Alexandria helps confirm Psaltes' opinion (*Gramm. d. Byz. Chroniken*, p. 24 n. 3) that such formations were artificial affectations, modelled on Aeolic; cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Gramm. d. NT Griech.*<sup>10</sup>, §73.

28 f. καθάπερ ἐν δίκης: see now H. J. Wolff, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. of Pap.* (Ann Arbor), p. 527.

29 μὴ ἐλαττωμένου: see G. Häge, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. of Pap.* (Ann Arbor), p. 195.

32 ἀξιο(ῦμεν): P. Mil. Vogl. I 26. 20-1 note (p. 223).

33 κατακεχώρι(σται): for the resolution see 268. 20, and cf. 1471. 35 n.

35 κ<sup>ε</sup> Cεβ(ακτῆ): probably the *natalis* of Augustus, less likely the *dies imperii* of Tiberius (Snyder, *Aeg.* XLIV (1964), p. 159.)

## 2974. SUBLEASE OF LAND

26 3 B. 52/H(3-4)a

6.9 × 22.8 cm.

9 September A.D. 162

Sarapas subleases 2 $\frac{2}{3}$  arouras, for one year, to be cultivated with grass, at a rent of 100 drachmas. The document is of standard form, compare e.g. 499 and 730. The back is blank.

→ ἐμίθωσεν *Καραπῆς Πτολ-*  
*λᾶτος μητρὸς Φιλουμένης ἀπὸ*  
*'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως Ἀμότι*  
*χρηματί(ζοντι) μητρὸς Τααμόιτος*  
 5 ἀπὸ Ταμπέμου πρὸς μόνον  
 τὸ ἐνεστὸς γ (ἔτος) *Ἀύρη[λ]ίων*  
*'Αντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν*  
*κυρίων Σεβαστῶν ἅς καὶ αὐ-*  
*τὸς τυγχάνει ἔχειν ἐν μισθώ-*  
 10 *σει παρὰ Διδύμου Θέωνος*  
*τῶν γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων*  
*καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆ[ς] πε[ρ]ὶ τὸ Κατύ-*  
*ρου ἐποίκιον ἀρούρας δύο*  
*δίμοιρον ὥστε ταύτας ξυ-*  
 15 *λαμῆσαι χόρτω εἰς κοπήν*  
*καὶ ἐπινομήν, φόρον ἀποτά-*  
*κτου δραχμῶν ἑκατόν.*  
*ἀκίνδυνος ὁ φόρος παντὸς*  
*κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημο-*  
 20 *σίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμι-*  
*θωκότα ὃν καὶ κυριεύειν*  
*τῶν καρπῶν ἕως ἂν τὸν φόρον*  
*κομίσχται. τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως*  
*βεβαιουμένης ἀποδότω ὁ μ[ε]-*  
 25 *μισθωμένος τῷ μεμισθω-*  
*κότι τὸν φόρον τῷ Ἐπειφ μη-*  
*νὶ καὶ ἡ πράξις ἔστω τῷ μ[ε]-*  
*μισθωκό[τι] ἔ[κ] τε τοῦ μεμι[ε]-*  
*θωμένου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ[αρ]-*  
 30 *χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων. κυ[ρία]*

ἡ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) γ' Ἀυτοκράτορ[ος  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου  
 35 Ἀυρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ  
 Θῶθ ἰβ. (m. 2) Ἀμοίς μητρὸς Τ[α-  
 αμ[ό]ιτος μεμίσθωμαί τῆν  
 γῆν] πρὸς τὸ ἐνεε[τ]ὸς....  
 ..][...][...][...]

6 γλ 31 λγ

'Sarapas, son of Ptollas, mother Philumena, from the city of the Oxyrhynchí, has leased to Amois, known officially as son of his mother Taamois, from the village of Tampemou, for the current third year only of Aurelius Antoninus and Aurelius Verus the lords Augusti, 2½ arouras at Satyrus' hamlet, which he himself holds on lease from Didymus son of Theon, ex-gymnasiarch, and his sister, to plant with grass for cutting and grazing at a fixed rent of 100 drachmas. The rent is secured against all risk, the taxes on the land being paid by the lessor, who shall also be the owner of the crop until he receives the rent. If this lease is confirmed, the lessee shall deliver the lessor the rent in the month Epeiph, and the lessor shall have the right of execution upon the lessee and upon all his property. The lease is valid. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Thoth 12.

(2nd hand) 'I, Amois, son of Taamois, have leased the land for the current [third year...].'

10 f. Διδύμου Θέωνος τῶν γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων: not in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des Gymnasiarques*.  
 38 f. The most likely reconstruction is πρὸς τὸ ἐνεε[τ]ὸς τρί[το]ν ἔ[το]ς ὅ[ς] προέκειται.

### 2975. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RETURN OF DEPOSIT

20 3B. 34/H(6)a

12.5 × 35 cm.

1 October A.D. 198

The circumstances of this interesting transaction are not described, but it is an obvious conclusion that the deposit was a device to avoid the risk and inconvenience of transporting money through the Western Desert. The depositor came from the Little Oasis, now Bahariya in the desert west of Behnesa. By this document he acknowledged return of his deposit from a man of the distant Ammoniac Oasis, now Siwa, where he had actually made the deposit about two or three years earlier. The money was paid back through the agency of an Oxyrhynchite and seems to have been paid back in Oxyrhynchus. The circumstances recall 2983 and 2984, two private letters; the three documents may belong together, see 2983 introd.

Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 349–52, discusses the legal aspects of deposits and gives a list of pertinent documents on p. 355 n. 8. See also K. Kastner, *Die zivilrechtliche Ver-wahrung* (diss. 1962); J. H. Schreiner, *Symbolae Osloenses* XLIV (1969), pp. 146–8.

On the back, written along the fibres, there is a short endorsement of perhaps half a dozen letters which has remained unread. Since the sheet contains a kollesis, it was clearly cut from a roll.

A first transcript of this text and draft for publication was prepared by S. F. Johanson in the course of an American summer school held in Princeton. The text was subsequently worked on by G. M. Browne, who had no knowledge of Johanson's work. The publication here draws on the preliminary work of both of these scholars.

→ ὁμολογεῖ Ἡρακλείδης Ἀκοῦ μητρὸς Διο-  
 γενίδος ἀπὸ Ἀφροδιτίου τῆς Μεικράς  
 Ὀάσεως ἀπεσχηκέναι παρὰ Ἀμμωνια-  
 νοῦ Σαράμμωνος μητρὸς Ἑλένης  
 5 ἀπὸ εἴδους Κωμογραμματέων τῆς  
 Ἀμμωνιακῆς διὰ Ἡρακλείδου Χαϊρή-  
 μωνος μητρὸς Διονυσίας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύν-  
 χων πόλεως, φίλου τοῦ Ἀμμωνιανοῦ,  
 ἃς παρέθετο αὐτῷ ἡνίκα ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀμ-  
 10 μωνιακῇ τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἀργυρίου  
 Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος δραχμὰς τρια-  
 κοσίας ἐξήκοντα γίνονται (δραχμαὶ) τξ καὶ οὐδὲν  
 ἐγκαλεῖ οὐδὲ ἐγκα[λ]έσει περὶ τούτου  
 οὐδὲ περὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς γρα-  
 15 πτοῦ ἢ ἀγράφου εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν  
 ἡμέραν διὰ τὸ ἀπεσχηκέναι αὐτὸν  
 ἐκ πλήρους. ἄκυρα δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπί-  
 φορα ἃ τότε ἐτύγχανε ἐκδοῦς αὐτῷ  
 τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν γράμματα.  
 20 κύριον τὸ ὁμολόγημα διςὸν γραφέν.  
 ἔτους ἐβδόμου Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καϊσάρων  
 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβητικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Με[γ]ίστου καὶ Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου  
 25 Σεβαστῶν, Φαῶφι δ. (m. 2) Ἡρακλεῖδης Ἀκοῦ ὁ προτε-  
 ταγμένος ἀπέσχον παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμμωνιανοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἡ-  
 ρακλείδου ἃς παρεθέμην αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ [Ἀ]μμωνιακῇ  
 ὦν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτι τὰ[δ]ραχμὰς τριακοσίας  
 ἐξήκοντα κ[α]ὶ οὐδὲν κοὶ ἐγκαλῶ, πάντα δὲ ὡς

30 [π]ρόκειται.

(vac. 16 cm. deep)

πεμφθ(έν?) τῶ Ἀμμωνιανῶ.

Back → . . . . .

'Heracleides, son of Akous, mother Diogenis, from Aphrodisium in the Little Oasis, acknowledges that he has received from Ammonianus, son of Sarammon, mother Helen, from the village-scribes' estate (?) in the Ammoniac (Oasis), by the agency of Heracleides, son of Chaeremon, mother Dionysia, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, friend of Ammonianus, the three hundred and sixty drachmas which he deposited with him when he was in the Ammoniac (Oasis) in the fourth year, in silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total 360 dr., and he makes and will make no charge regarding this or any other transaction whatsoever, written or unwritten, up to the present day because he has received the money in full; and the letter of security for it which he (Ammonianus) then in fact gave over to him (Heracleides) is to be invalid and inadmissible. The acknowledgement, written in two copies, is to be valid. Year seven of Imperatores Caesares L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and M. Aurelius Antoninus, Augusti, Phaophi 4. (2nd hand) I, Heracleides, son of Akous, the aforementioned, have received from Ammonianus through Heracleides the three hundred and sixty drachmas which I deposited with him when I was in the Ammoniac (Oasis) in the fourth year and I make no charge against you and everything (shall be) as aforesaid.

'Sent (?) to Ammonianus.'

2 Ἀφροδισίου. Cf. 1647 7, PSI XII 1228, 8, P. IFAO II 15, 4.

2-3 On the administration of the Little Oasis and its connexion with Oxyrhynchus see *Recherches de Papyrologie* III, p. 28, P. Merton III 106 3 n.

5 ἀπό εἶδος Κωμογραμματέων. Comparison with line 2 suggests that this is a place name, cf. *Κωμογραμματέως ἐποίκιον* (BGU IV 1046 ii 14, iii 24), ἀμφοδον Κωμογραμματέων (BGU I 59 25, 95 11, II 659 ii 1), but εἶδος is not a known topographical term. In the plural εἶδη can mean 'wares, property'; perhaps in the singular it might mean 'estate', if we may compare the German 'Güter' (goods, wares, property) and 'Gut' (estate).

6 The Ammoniac Oasis was a separate nome, see Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, I, ii, pp. 16-17, 429; Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, p. 138. A strategus of the nome is referred to in P. Fay. 23 a 4 and oil from there is mentioned in 2423 iii 21 etc. and 2783 8. Its chief glory was the temple of Ammon, with its oracle; for references see Calderini, *Dizionario*, pp. 19-22. Hence the name of the place and the theophoric names of Ammonianus and Sarammon.

8 φίλον τοῦ Ἀμμωνιανοῦ. This expression removes the ambiguity from PSI XII 1228 8, where now φίλον, not Φίλου, should be read, see note *ad loc.*

10 The fourth year was A.D. 195/6.

29 coi is a lapse; one expects ἀντῶ, see 27.

31 πεμφθ(έν?). One expects perhaps πέμψον, as a memorandum that one of the two copies, see 20, was to be sent to Ammonianus. The letter after mu, however, is formed exactly like the phis in the body of the document, although they are all by the first hand, and some ink above an abraded patch suggests πεμφθ', as the best reading.

## 2976. TO THE GODDESS THOERIS

A 8B. 4/7 (1)a

8.5 × 5 cm.

Second century

Fragment of a text addressed to the goddess Thoeris. The papyrus is broken above, which leaves it doubtful whether line 1 is or is not the beginning. The document resembles a personal letter (but without the χαίρειν greeting), and it may bear an address along the back. Most of the content of the document has been lost, but it is clearly not an oracle question. A mention of sleep in l. 4 suggests a dream text, but other dream texts do not take the form of letters to deities. No parallel is known to me.

The script is a careful and attractive semi-cursive of the mid-second century, remarkable for its full use of iota adscript.

The cult of Thoeris at Oxyrhynchus is known from many texts; cf. most recently 2722, 3. For the identification of this hippopotamus-goddess with Athena, cf. the texts cited in P. Merton II 73 introd. and *ZPE* I (1967), p. 123 n. 11.

→ Θοήριδι θεᾶι μεγίστηι  
 ἐν τῶι εὐτυχεστάτῳ τεμένει  
 σου ἐχθές ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις  
 ἐδείπνουν. ὕπνωι ἐνεχο-  
 5 [μεν- ]  
 [ ]  
 [...] [ c. 18 ]  
 [...] [ c. 18 ]  
 Back → ]εἰ [ c. 8 ] [

'... To Thoeris, most great goddess. I was dining yesterday with my friends in your most fortunate precinct. Overcome by sleep...'

4-5 ἐνεχό[μενος στ ἐνεχο[μένη.

## 2977. CONTRACT OF APPRENTICESHIP

A 22/4

6.9 × 26.3 cm.

A.D. 239

A contract of apprenticeship to a κτενιστής, well preserved except at the foot. BGU 1021 is the beginning of another apprenticeship contract to a κτενιστής. See in general Herrmann, 'Vertragsinhalt und Rechtsnatur der διδασκαλικαί', *JJP* XI-XII (1957-8), pp. 119-39, who lists examples on p. 119, n. 1. There is also a useful list of examples in Johnson, *Roman Egypt (Econ. Survey II)*, pp. 389-91. Add now to Herrmann's

list 2875 (first published *BASP* v (1968), pp. 135-9); 2971 and 2988 in the present volume; 2586; P. Wisc. 4; BGU xi 2041; *ZPE* vii (1971), pp. 173-5 (re-edition of P. Teb. 442 descr.); *Aeg.* xlvi (1966), pp. 209-13 (re-edition of 322 descr.), = *SB* x 10236; and *ZPE* vi (1970), pp. 15-17.

It is not certain what exactly was the function of the κτενιστής. The word has usually been rendered 'wool-carder', otherwise 'hairdresser' (e.g. by LSJ). See Kalleris, *αἱ πρῶται ὄλαι* (Athens, 1952), pp. 159-60; Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (1965), pp. 34-5. The fact that a ζεύγος κτενιστικόν (1035. 12, wrongly cited in *Aeg.* xxvi (1946), p. 41, and by Kalleris) is an instrument that can be leased is perhaps in favour of the former interpretation. 2977 contributes nothing to a solution of this problem.

The text is written in a small rounded cursive hand. The back is blank.

→ Ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Αὐρή-  
λιος Διογένης Ἡράτος μητρὸς  
Σαραπιάδος ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων πόλε-  
ως καὶ Θῶνις ἀπελεξ[ύθ]ε[ρος]  
5 Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμεί-  
νου κτενιστῆς ὁ μὲν Διογένης  
ἐγδεδωκένας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλο[ν]  
Δίδυμον ἐξ οἰκογενεῶ[ς] δούλης  
Ταιάδος πρὸς μάθησιν [τῆς]  
10 κτενιστικῆ[ς] τέχ[νης] ἐπὶ χρό-  
νον ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ α- Τ[ύβι?] <sup>9</sup>  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) τρεφ[όμε]-  
νον καὶ ἱματιζόμενο[ν] ἐπὶ  
ὄλον τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
15 δεσπότητος παρ' αὐτῶ κ[ε]ί[με]-  
νον ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ μὲν το[ύς] πρῶ-  
τους μῆνας ἐξ μῆ[δε]ν λαμ-  
βάνειν ὑπὲρ μισθῶν· μ[ε]θ' οὗ  
λήμφεται τῆς δευτέρας [ε]ξ α-  
20 μῆνου ἡμερησίως ὀβ[ολο]ύς  
δύο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον [ε]πι-  
αυτὸν ἡμερησίως ὀβολοῦς  
τέσσαρας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον  
ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερησίως ὀβολοῦς  
25 ἐξ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τέταρτον ἐνιαυ-

τὸν ἡμερησίως ὀβολοῦς [δ]κτώ  
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πέμπτον ἐνιαυτὸν  
ἡμερησίως ὀβολοῦς δέκα.  
ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ παῖς ἀρ-  
30 γήσῃ ἢ ὁ μὴ εἴη ἀσθενήσῃ  
ἡμέρας τινας ὁ τούτων μ[ε]θ[ε]σθὸς  
ἐκκρουθήσεται. ἐπὶ τούτοις  
οὖν παρεχέτω ὁ Διογένης  
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον παραμένον-  
35 τα τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνο[ν]  
κατ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ἡλίου  
ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως οὐκ ἀρ-  
γούντα ποιούντα πάντα  
τὰ ἐπιτραπηρόμενα αὐτῷ  
40 ὑπὸ τοῦ [ἐ]πιστάτου τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέ-  
χνην ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν [ὁμοίων μα-]  
θητῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάτης εὐδοκεῖν ἐπὶ  
τούτοις καὶ διδάξῃ τὸ[ν] μαθητὴν ἐν  
τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν δηλ[ο]μένην τέ-  
45 χνην καὶ ἐπιχορηγήσει τοὺς μισ[θ]οὺς.  
καὶ μὴ ἐξείναι μηδενὶ αὐτῶν παρα-  
βαίνειν τὰ προκείμενα ἢ ὁ παραβὰς  
ἐκθείσει τῷ ἐμμένοντι εἰς λόγον  
ἐπιτίμου δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. κύριον  
50 τὸ ὁμολ[ό]γη[μ]α καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπε[ρω]-  
τήσαν[τες] ὁμολόγη[σαν]. ἔτους τρίτου  
Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος] Μάρκου  
Ἀντωνίου Γορδιαν[οῦ] Εὐσεβοῦς  
Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, [month and day.]  
55 [(m. 2) Αὐρή]λιος Διογ[ένης]  
[Ἡ]ράτος εὐδω[κῶ]

9 ταῖαδος 36 l. καθ' 43 l. διδάξειν 48 l. ἐκτελείει 56 l. εὐδοκῶ

'Aurelius Diogenes, son of Heras, his mother being Sarapias, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, and Thonis, freedman of Harpocraton also called Herminus, wool-carder (?), acknowledge to one another, Diogenes that he has handed over his slave Didymus, born of Tais a houseborn slave, to

learn the craft of wool-carding (?) for a period of five years from the first of Tybi (?) of the present third year, (the slave) being maintained and clothed during the whole period by his master and lodging at his house, for which period for the first six months he is to receive nothing as wages, after which he will receive for the second six-month period two obols daily and for the second year four obols daily and for the third year six obols daily and for the fourth year eight obols daily and for the fifth year ten obols daily. If in the period the boy is idle or (may it not happen) is ill for any days, his wages for these will be withheld. On these terms then let Diogenes deliver his slave, who is to stay with the overseer during the period each day from sunrise to sunset, without idling, and doing everything that he is instructed by the overseer that pertains to the craft, like other such apprentices. The overseer for his part acknowledges that he consents to these terms and that he will teach the apprentice the aforesaid craft in the period and will supply the wages. It is permitted for neither of them to transgress the aforesaid terms, else the transgressor shall forfeit to the one abiding by them as a fine one hundred drachmas. The acknowledgement is valid, and (the parties) having formally questioned each other have made acknowledgement. The third year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, [month and day.]'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Diogenes, son of Heras, agree...'

8 οἰκογενεῖ[ς]: the end of the word seems really more like οἰκογενεῖ[ς].

11 The first of the month was a common date to start apprenticeships, cf. ZPE VII (1971) 175.

15-16 κ[ε]ί[μενον]? Cf. P. Teb. 27. 7, 50.

18 μεθ' οὗ: cf. 2773. 16.

35 τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ: cf. 2586. 7 n. The word occurs yet again in 2875, another Oxyrhynchus apprenticeship-contract.

#### 2978. APPLICATION TO AN ARCHIDICASTES

32 4B. 7/K(3-5)a

11.2 x 8.8 cm.

Third century?

This fragment from the top of a document is of interest for the prosopographical information it contains. I would assign it to the third century on palaeographical grounds. The back is blank.

→ Βαλβεινιανῶ, Βαλβεινιανοῦ γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου  
 Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶ, νεωκόρω τοῦ μεγάλου Καράπιδος, γενο-  
 μένω ἐπάρχῳ σπείρης πρώτης Φλαβίας ἵππικῆς,  
 τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ κειτουμένων ἀτελῶν,  
 5 ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματι-  
 τῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (vac.)  
 παρὰ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἀπολιναρίου τῶν ἀπολελυμένω(ν)  
 στρατ[ι]ωτῶν ὡς δὲ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας κεχρηματι-  
 κότη[ος] Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μέλανος τοῦ Πτ[ο]λεμαίου  
 10 [ c. 12 ]...[....]..... αἰλιό( )  
 . . . . .

10 αἰλι

'To Balbinianus, son of Balbinianus former *procurator Augusti*, *neocorus* of the great Sarapis, former prefect of the first Flavian cavalry cohort, one of the tax-exempt maintained in the Museum,

priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts, from Gaius Julius Apolinarius, discharged soldier, but before his military service styled Apollonius son of Melas son of Ptolemaeus...'

1 Balbinianus, archidicastes, is briefly mentioned in the undated CIG 4755 (Calabi, *Aeg.* xxxii (1952), p. 418) (= SB 8362). Balbinianus the elder, *procurator Augusti*, is new.

3 This cohort is presumably to be identified with the *cohors I Flavia Cilicum equitata*, stationed at Syene. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine*, p. 86.

4 See P. Mich. Shelton 620, particularly the commentary on ll. 2-3 on p. 84.

## VIII. PRIVATE LETTERS

## 2979. LETTER OF APHYNCHIS TO APIS

34 4B. 77/O(1-2)a

8.8 × 17.5 cm.

September/October 3 B.C.

This letter deals with the leasing of land and is written in a loose, rambling style. The hand is a medium-sized, graceless uncial, somewhat similar to P. Merton II 63. The scribe three times breaks the normal rules for dividing words between lines.

↓ Ἀφύγχις Ἀπει[[c]]τι χαίρειν καὶ  
 ὑγιαίνων. ἐπεὶ ὦρος υἱός μου  
 καταβάς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔλ-  
 εγὲν μοι ὅτι ἔλεγες αὐτῷ μν-  
 5 ησθῆναί μοι περὶ ἧς ἔχεις ξυ-  
 λαμῆς πᾶσαν δοῦναί μοι [ι] ἐ-  
 ν τῷ ἔτει, [ἐ]ὰν οὖν εὐκαιρῆς  
 καταβῆναι καὶ μισθῶσαί μοι  
 ἦτε σὺ ἢ τὸ παιδίον σου διὰ τὸ ἐ-  
 10 μὲ περὶ τὰ κτή[νη] στρέφεσθαι  
 καὶ μὴ σχολάζειν. μὴ οὖν ἄλ-  
 λως ποιήσης ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι π-  
 ἀράκι ν'ταί μοι, κατ' ἐγλογὴν δὲ  
 σὲ αἰρετίζομαι. βουλευσάμε-  
 15 νος οὖν περὶ τούτου τὴν τα-  
 χίστην ἀντιφώνησόν μοι  
 ἵνα μὴ ἐκπέσω. καὶ σεαυ(τοῦ) ἐπι-  
 μέλου ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης). ἔρρ[[o]]ω'σο.  
 (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Φαῶφι.—  
 20 Back ↓ Ἀπειτι

2 l. ὑγιαίνων 16 l. ἀντιφώνησον 18 νγ' 19 ∟

'Aphynchis to Apis greetings and good health. Since Horus my son, having come down from the city, told me that you told him to remind me about the sowing of the land which you have, that you would give me all of it for the year – if, then, you have the leisure, come down and lease it to me, either you or your boy, because I am occupied with the cattle and have no time. Do not fail since others are also urging me, but I prefer you by choice. Make up your mind about this and answer me at once so that I won't miss (the opportunity). And take care of your health. Farewell. Year 28 of Caesar. Phaophi. . .'

Back 'To Apis.'

3 καταβάς: κατά in compounds often denotes movement from metropolis to village, see H. C. Youtie, *HTR* xli (1948), p. 15 n. 36.

5-6 ξυλαμῆς: technically ξυλαμῆ denotes the sowing of grass and forage crops, see Gerstinger, *Aeg.* xxxii (1952), p. 366; here presumably of the land so sown.

9 ἦτε: though ἦτε in later Greek often means simply 'or', see LSJ s.v., I cannot find elsewhere the combination ἦτε. . . ἦ. Perhaps the writer intended the classical and phonetically equivalent sequence ἐτε. . . ἦ, see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, p. 507.

14 αἰρετίζομαι: the only other occurrence of this word in the papyri is in UPZ 109 4, where the active is found.

17 ἐκπέσω: perhaps something like τοῦ καιροῦ is to be supplied, cf. P. Tebt. 50 27-8 ἐκπέπτομεν . . . τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ.

## 2980. LETTER FROM THEON TO AMMONIUS

20 3B. 36/G(1-2)a

8.3 × 23.3 cm.

Second century

Theon, in a brief but affectionate letter, scolds his friend Ammonius for failing to write.

→ Θέων Ἀμμωνίῳ  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν·  
 πολλαὶ ἡμέραι σου ἐπιςτό-  
 λια οὐκ ἔλαβον καὶ διὰ  
 5 τί ἐρωτῶ σε δηλώσαι  
 μοι· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αὐτός  
 σοι ἀνελλιπῶς [[σοι]] ἠγράφωι,  
 τοῦτο καὶ πέπεισαι· πρὸ  
 τῶν ὄλων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαί-  
 10 νειν σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς  
 καὶ γράφειν μοι περὶ ὧν  
 βούλει ἠδέως ποιήσον[τ]ι.  
 ἔρρωσο ἀδελφε ἠδιστ(ε).

Back → εἰς τὰ Θέωνο(ς) Ἀπολλω( ) τραπεζίτου Ἀμμωνίῳ ἀδελφῷ

7 l. γράφωι 13 ηδιστ 14 θεωνο<sup>ο</sup> απολλω<sup>ω</sup>

'Theon to Ammonius his brother, greetings. For many days now I've not had a letter from you; and I ask you to tell me why. That I myself write to you unflinching, of this you need no convincing. I pray above all that you are well, and your brothers with you; and that you should write me your wishes, which I'll gladly carry out. Good health, sweetest brother.'

(Address) 'To the house of Theon son of Apollo( ), the banker, for Ammonius my brother.'

3 πολλαὶ ἡμέραι: for this sort of parenthetic nominative, see Blass, Debrunner and Funk, *Greek Grammar of the NT*, § 144.

14 The address specifies not only the name of the recipient, but also the house to which the letter should be delivered. This sort of thing happens elsewhere, see P. Mich. 514. 39 n. But we have

found only one parallel to the precise formula (with *εἰς τὰ*): an unpublished letter from Dios to Sarapion bears the address *εἰς τὰ Δείον γυμνασιάρχ( ) Σαραπίων(ν) φρονιτετ(ῆ)* (P. Oxy. inv. 34 4B. 74/N(2-3)a.

Θέωνο(ς) Ἀπολλων( ) : this banker is not identifiable in the list of Calderini, *Aeg.* xviii, pp. 260-4.

## 2981. LETTER OF PUBLIUS TO APOLLONIUS

27 3B. 42/H(11-12)c

10 × 30 cm.

Second century

A letter from Publius to Apollonius dealing with the registration of some property and with the travel of a group of men under one Macrinus from the Oxyrhynchite village of Pakerke to Alexandria. As Macrinus has fallen ill, Publius takes charge of the men himself rather than have their journey interrupted till Macrinus's recovery. The evident need for speed suggests a work crew with a deadline to meet.

→ Πόπλις Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῶι  
ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.  
γεινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι παρα-  
γενάμενος ἐν τῇ Δίωνος ἐ-  
5 ζήτησα τοὺς περὶ Μακρεῖνον  
καὶ οὐχ εὔρον αὐτούς. ὕστερον γε-  
νάμενος ἐν τῇ Χαιρήνου εὔρον  
τὸν Μακρεῖνον νοσοῦντα καὶ  
ἐτάξατο ὅτι ἐὰν ἀναλάβω ἐμαυ-  
10 τὸν εὐθέως ἐλεύσομαι σοι εἰς  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τῶν ἀν-  
θρώπων τῶν ἀπὸ Πακέρκη.  
ἔφην δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐάν μοι παρα-  
δοῖς μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φιλαν-  
15 θρωπηθήσῃ· καλῶς οὖν ποι-  
ήσεις, ἄδ[ελ]φε, τὰ περὶ τὴν  
ἐπίκριον ἀπάρτιον. μὴ ἐπι-  
λάθῃ τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου.  
καὶ Ἐπίμαχος ἀπογραφάστῳ  
20 τὸ μέρος τοῦ καμηλῶνος  
ὃν κατέλειψε αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ  
αὐτοῦ Πλουτίων. ἄσπασαι Ὁρίω-  
να καὶ Τασσεοῦν καὶ Ἀμμώνιον

καὶ Ἐλένην καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντά  
25 σου παιδία. ἀσπάζεται σε Ἰσίδω-  
ρος καὶ Ὁρίωνα καὶ Ἀμμώνιον  
καὶ Διογένην. καὶ μέλι μοι περὶ  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ συνέβαλον  
αὐτοῖς σὺν τῷ πατρὶ μου Ποπλίῳ.  
30 ἄ[c]πασαι τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδία.  
ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχ(ομαι)  
Φαῶφι λ-

Back → Ἀπολλωνίῳ × π(αρά) Ποπλίου ξυλεμ( )

1 l. Πόπλιος 9 There is an ink blot over the hypsilon of ἐμαντόν 13-14 l. παραδῶς  
19 l. ἀπογραφάστῳ 27 l. μέλει 31 ευ<sup>x</sup> 33 π, ξυλεμ<sup>u</sup>

'Publius to his brother Apollonius, greeting. I wish to inform you that I went to Dionos and looked for the men in Macrinus's charge but could not find them. Later I went to Chaireu and found Macrinus ill. He promised, "If I recover I shall at once go to Alexandria for you with the men from Pakerke." But I told him, "If you turn the men over to me, you will be rewarded." So please, brother, clear up the matter of the official examination. Don't forget the portion of the workshop. And let Epimachus register the portion of the camel stall which his father Plution left him. Greet Horion, Tasseuous, Ammonius, Helen, Apollonius, and your children (may the evil eye not touch them). Isidorus sends greeting to you and to Horion, Ammonius, and Diogenes. I am looking after the men; I met them with my father Publius. Greet your children (may the evil eye not touch them). I pray for your health. Phaophi 30.'

(Back) 'To Apollonius, from Publius the...'

4 τῇ Δίωνος: unknown. Apparently, like Chaireu below, a place on the way from Pakerke to Alexandria.

7 Χαιρήνου: this important town near Alexandria is usually spelled Χαιρέου. See P. Cair. Isid. 61, 18 note.

32 Phaophi 30 is 27 October.

33 ξυλεμ( ): the epsilon is certain. ξυλεμ(πόρου) would preserve the text spelling, but the word is not attested, though it would be regular in form. Otherwise only ξυλαμ(ητοῦ) and ξυλομ(έτρου) suggest themselves; of these the latter is more probable, as Publius evidently holds some authority (for the irrigation official ξυλομέτρης see P. Lond. v 1648, introd.).

## 2982. LETTER OF THEON TO THEON

26 3B. 53/M(1-2)a

9 × 34 cm.

Second/third century

This letter contains a short group of instructions about agricultural matters from a steward named Theon to another Theon. The letter ends with a series of farewells and a type of salutation which is most frequently found in letters of the second and third centuries.

→ [Θ]έων Θεῶνι τῶι  
φιλότατω χαίρειν.  
γεινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι

τῆ ἰᾶ γεγόναμεν εἰς  
 5 Ἐρμοῦ πόλιν καὶ τὸ προσ-  
 κύνημά ε[ο]ν ποιῶ παρ' ο[ἱ]ς  
 ἐπιξενοῦμαι θεοῖ[ς].  
 ἔπεμψά σοι διὰ τοῦ [. . . . .]  
 τικοῦ βάδου κενού[ς].  
 10 καὶ τὸ ἡμικάδιον Ἐπιμά-  
 χου. περὶ τῶν παρὰ σοὶ ἔργων  
 μὴ ἀμέλει. περὶ[ρ]άσομαι δὲ κά-  
 γὰ τάχιον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑ-  
 μᾶς. τὰ οἰνάρια κεινείθω.  
 15 συνεχῶς δὲ γείνου εἰς ἀ-  
 γρὸν ἔνεκεν τῶν ὑδάτων.  
 περὶ ὧν χρεῖαν ἔχει Ὀμόνοια  
 δίδι αὐτῇ καὶ πρόσεχε αὐτῇ  
 ὡς ἂν εἰ ἐμοῦ παρόντος. ἀσπά-  
 20 ζεταί σοι Εὐδαιμονίς καὶ Γάιος  
 καὶ Ἀμμῶνις καὶ Ἡρωδιάνα  
 καὶ Διογένης. μέμφεται σοι  
 Διογένης περὶ τῆς κυρώσεως  
 τῶν εἴκοσι ἀρουρῶν. ἀσπάζου  
 25 Ὀμόνοιαν καὶ Κύριλλαν καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου.  
 ἐρρῶσθαί σοι εὐχομαι  
 εἰς μακροὺς αἰῶνας.

Back → Θέωνι × π(α)ρὰ Θεώνος ἐπιτρό(που)

9 l. βάτους 13-14 ὑμας 16 ὑδατων 18 l. δίδου 20 γαίς, l. Γάιος 21 l. Ἀμ-  
 μῶνις 29 π', επιτρο<sup>1</sup>

'Theon to his dearest Theon, greetings. I want you to know that on the 11th we arrived at Hermopolis, and that I make obeisance on your behalf to the gods who are in the place that I am visiting. By agency of . . . I have sent to you . . . empty *batoi* jars and the half-*kados* jar of Epimachus. Don't be negligent about the work in your charge. I shall try to come quickly to you. Have the wine moved. Make frequent visits to the field because of the water situation. As regards the things which Homonoia needs, give them to her and look after her as if I were present myself. Eudaemonis sends you her regards as do Gaius, Ammonius, Herodiaena and Diogenes. Diogenes reproaches you with regard to the ratification of the twenty arouras. Give my regards to Homonoia, Cyrilla and your brothers. I pray that you be in good health for many years.'

(Back) 'To Theon from Theon the steward.'

9 βάδου = βάτους. The term can be used to signify either a specific liquid measure or a container that holds this quantity, see P. Bilabel 43. 10. Although the line breaks off after κενού[ς], there is space for an indication of the number of jars.

14 κεινείθω probably refers to some step in the preparation of wine. The term is used but not explained in 1631 17. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 289, refers κινεῖν to the process of transferring the wine to new vats; cf. *Geoponica* 7, 4, 2 etc. (1631 17 n.). *Geoponica* 7, 7 suggests that κινεῖν also refers to the unsettling effect on wine of the south wind, cf. Billiard, *La vigne dans l'antiquité*, p. 286.

18 δίδι. Read δίδου; cf. 1185 where δέιδι (12) corresponds to δείδου (9) in the earlier version of the same maxim, and P. Abinn. 7. 18, where ἐδίδι = ἐδίδου.

23 κύρωσις is found most often in purchases of state property at public auctions, e.g. 513 4, 1633 20. It is, however, also found in private transactions, e.g. P. Tebt. 816.

28 εἰς μακροὺς αἰῶνας: cf. P. Mich. VIII 481. 36 (εἰς αἰῶνα) and P. Fay. 117. 27 (εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον) which both date from the early second century. Exler, *Greek Epistolography*, p. 76, contains a fuller list of such salutations, all of which date from the second and third centuries.

### 2983. LETTER OF HARPALUS TO HERAS

20 3B. 34/H(7-8)a

9.7 × 26.5 cm.

Second/third century

Harpalus writes to Heras about various financial business. The same correspondents appear in 2984; and there as here Harpalus insists on a safe messenger (2984, 12, 2983, 13).

The two letters were found and inventoried together; so too was 2975, which may also be relevant. That document acknowledges the return of a deposit of money; the depositor came from the Little Oasis, the money had been deposited in the Oasis of Siwa, repayment is made through an Oxyrhynchite friend named Heraclides; a copy of the receipt is sent off to the debtor in Siwa. 2983 equally deals with transfers of funds between Oxyrhynchus and the Great and Little Oases, and with the transmission of financial documents; a Heraclides is involved, and makes payments in the Oxyrhynchite nome. It may be then that the three documents, all in different hands, come from a single circle. 2975 is dated A.D. 198; 2983 (and 2984) could well belong to the same period, to judge from the hands.

→ Ἄρπαλος Ἡράτι τῶν ἀδελφῶ  
 χαίρειν.  
 ἔγραψα [. . .] διὰ Ἡρακλεῖδ[ου] . . . [  
 τα τῆς [ο]ἰκονομίας σου· συνέδησα  
 5 ἐπιστολήν μου καὶ ἄλλην τοῦ ἐν-  
 θάδε νομικοῦ πρὸς τὸν παρὰ σοὶ  
 νομικόν. ἐκομίσάμην παρὰ Ἀμ-  
 μων[ί]ου τὰ πεμφθέντα [μοι. ἐπ]εμ-  
 ψα δέ σοι δι' αὐτοῦ κνίδιν γάρου χρηστοῦ,  
 10 λαβὼν παρ' ἐμοῦ εἰς λόγον ναύλου



καὶ φορέτρον (δραχμὰς) 5. τὸ ἐπιστόλιον τὸ  
 τῆς ἐπιθήκης τὸ διαπεμφθέν σοι ἀπ' Ἀ-  
 λεξανδρείας διὰ ἀσφαλοῦς μοι πέμψον.  
 ἐκομ[ι]κάμην παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου σπάτι-  
 15 ον οἶνον. καὶ μὴ βαροῦ· οὔτινος γὰρ  
 ἔαν χρεῖαν σχῶ, γράψω σοι. ἐγράφη μοι  
 ἀπὸ Ὀά[ς]εως ὑπὸ Λεωνίδου ὡς τοῦ φίλου  
 μεταβαλόντος αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν δερμά-  
 των. ἐξέτασον [πα]ρὰ σοὶ πόσον αὐτῷ με-  
 20 τεβάλετο εἰς τὸν λόγον μου· καὶ ἐρε[ῖς  
 Πατρ. [.]. τι ὅτι Ἡρακλείδης [οὐ]δέν μ[οι  
 ὀφείλει ἀπὸ λόγου τῆς μεγάλης Ὀάσεως  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐχρῆν τὸν κάμηλον κατασχεῖν.  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ μειμούμενος ἔματόν μεχρι  
 25 τούτου οὐδέν ἔπραξα, καὶ μέχρι τούτου  
 ἦτω. τὰς γὰρ (δραχμὰς) Ἀ, ἅς μετεβάλετο ὁ Ἡ-  
 ρακλείδης τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ  
 Ὀάσει, ταύτας ἔσχεν ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ  
 κάμοι μετεβάλετο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ὀξυ-  
 30 ρυγχείτῃ ὀφειλομένας μοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.  
 εἰκῆ οὖν κατεῖχον τὸν κάμηλον.  
 πάντα μεταδώσεις αὐτῷ. περὶ ὧν β[ού]-  
 λει, ἀνόκτως μοι γράφε.  
 35 (m. 2) ἐρρώσθ[αί] σε  
 εὐχομ[αι]

Back → Ἡρᾶτι π(αρά) Ἀρπά × λου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

10 l. λαβόντος 24 l. ἐμαντόν

'Harpalus to Heras his brother, greetings. I wrote [to you] by Heraclides... the (details?) of your contract. I have tied up with (the letter) a letter of mine and another from the notary here to the notary who is with you. I've received from Ammonius the things which were sent to me. I've sent you by him a Cnidian jar of good fish-paste, and he's had from me 6 dr. for river and land freightage. Send me by safe messenger the letter of credit which was sent on to you from Alexandria. I've received a spathion of wine from Heraclides. Don't worry: whatever I need, I'll write to you. A letter came from the Oasis, from Leonidas, that his (your?) friend had paid him the price of the skins. Enquire at your end how much he paid him to my account. You will tell x... that Heraclides owes me nothing from the Great Oasis account, and there was no need to hold the camel (I in my usual fashion have done nothing so far, and so far so be it). In fact the 1,000 dr. which Heraclides paid to his associates in the Great Oasis, he had these in the Oxyrhynchite and paid them to me in the said Oxyrhynchite, as they were owing to me from him. So there was no point in their holding the

camel. You'll tell him everything. Don't hesitate to write to me about anything you want. (2nd hand) I pray for your health.'

(Address) 'To Heras from Harpalus his brother.'

3 *εγραψα*. [.]. : e.g. *εγραψά* ς[ο]ι. The sloping back of α is clear (not *εγραψε*).

]...[: probably ]κ; then perhaps loop of α; then a hooked foot as of γ, ι, ρ (but not τ); then what might be the loop of α, followed by a trace of its extended tail (if so, the last letter of the line; if not, space for c. 2 more in the final lacuna). There might be one letter lost in the lacuna before ]κ.

12 *ἐπιθήκης*: cf. BGU 1064. 11; PSI 741. 5; 1578. 35 etc.

17 *Ὀάσεως*: probably the Little Oasis, as distinguished from ἡ μεγάλη (lines 22, 27).

18 *μεταβαλόντος*: but *μετεβάλετο* 19-20 below. For this use of the active cf. P. Lugd. Bat. 1 14. 22, XIII 5. 11, SB 7244. 7. The verb might refer either to a credit transfer or to a cash transaction; I have therefore translated it by the neutral word 'pay'.

21 *Πατρ*. [.]. τι: perhaps *Πατρο[υ]ῆτι* (l. *Πατρο-*).

## 2984. LETTER FROM HARPALUS TO HERAS

20 3B. 34/H(3-4)b

7.1 × 14.2 cm.

Second/third century

A second letter from Harpalus to Heras (cf. 2983), written along the fibres in a strong, upright hand. The back is blank.

→ Ἄρπαλος Ἡρᾶτι τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν  
 ἀς]πάζ[ο]μαί σε καὶ τὸς  
 ςὸς π[α]ρ[α]τ[α]ς καὶ τὸ προσ-  
 5 κύνημ[ά] σου ποιῶ καθ' [ἐ-  
 κάστην [ἡ]μέραν παρὰ τῷ  
 κυρίῳ Κα[ρά]πιδι. συνεχῶς  
 μοι γρά[φ]ε διὰ τῶν ἐρχο-  
 μένων πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ  
 10 ὧν ἔαν χ[ρ]εῖαν ἔχη[ς] τ[ο]ῦ ὧν  
 ἐνθάδε. μνήσθητι πέμ-  
 ψαι μοι δι' ἀσφαλοῦς τὴν  
 ἐπιστολήν Εὐαγγέλου.  
 ἐρρώσθ[αί] σε  
 15 ε[ὐ]χομ[αι].

'Harpalus to Heras his brother, greetings. I salute you and all yours and I do obeisance for your sake each day before the lord Sarapis. Write to me continually through those who come my way, about whatever here you may have need of. Remember to send me Evangelus' letter by a safe man. I pray for your health.'

## 2985. LETTER OF THEON TO CHAEREMON

31 4B. 10/F(1-2)a

15 × 13 cm.

Second/third century

Letter dealing with agricultural matters, in particular with the obtaining of fodder. A reference to the rising of the Nile in ll. 8-9 indicates a date near the start of the inundation in the middle of July.

The text is written on the back of a sheet cut from a document which mentions the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and has four lines of shorthand in the lower margin. No address is given on the back.

A flaw in the papyrus has caused the writer to leave an unusually wide gap after the first two or three letters on the left from l. 4 on.

Cf. the following letter 2986 from Chaeremon to Theon.

- ↓ Π(αρά) Θέωνος χαίρε Χαιρήμων.  
 ἐὰν μάθῃς ὅτι χρεῖαν ἔχεις χορ[τοπ]ατήματος  
 εἰς τὴν Θώλθιν μ[ε]τένεγκον τὸ τοῦ Ἐκυσίου ἐκεῖ.  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἄχυρον παραμυγήτω ἵνα μὴ  
 5 ταχέως ἀναλωθῇ· ὅταν γὰρ τὰ τοῦ πωμα-  
 ρίου οἰνάρια πραθῇ, τότε δύνασαι χορ-  
 τοπάτημα ἐκεῖ ἀγοράσαι· τάχα γὰρ  
 εὔωνον ἔσται τοῦ ὕδατος προσβαί-  
 νοντος. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς τῆς μεταφορᾶς  
 10 τοῦ ἀχύρου τῆς Θώλθως. ἄρτι δὲ  
 μισθὸν μὴ δίδου κτήσι χάριν κόπρου  
 ἄχρι τῆς ἀναβάσεως. ἵνα μὴ μισθὸν  
 διδῶς. (m. 2) ἔρρωσσο. ἀνάπεμψον εἰς δια-  
 ταγὴν οἴνου κερᾶ(μια) 5 ἐκ τοῦ πωμαρίου διὰ τῆς ὄνου  
 15 Κοπρέως, ἀλλὰ ἤδη, καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ.

4 ἵνα 8 ὕδατος 12 ἵνα 13 l. ἔρρωσσο 14 κερᾶ 15 υἱῶν

'From Theon greeting, Chaeremon. If you find that you need threshed straw in Tholthis, transfer Hekysius's there. But have a great deal of chaff mixed in so that it does not get used up quickly; for when the wine from the orchard is sold, then you can buy threshed straw there. For perhaps it will be cheap, as the flood is approaching. Don't neglect the transport of the chaff in Tholthis. And do not pay hire just now for beasts on account of the manure; not till the inundation. See that you don't pay it. (2nd hand) Farewell. Send up six ceramia of wine from the orchard for distribution, by Copreus's she-ass, do it now, and one of his sons.'

2 χορ[τοπ]ατήματος: *addendum lexicis*. Cf. ll. 6-7; 2986, 7 and 8-9<sup>1</sup>. Probably to be identified with the χορτοπάτητον of 1734, 15 and PSI VII 808, 14; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 218, suggests that χορτοπάτητον is 'Grassamen, der durch Dreschen gewonnen ist'; LSJ translates 'threshed straw'. The latter, meaning fodder left after seed has been trodden out of the χόρτος, is easier linguistically.

<sup>1</sup> See also 2861, 11 n.

3 ἐκεῖ: alternatively the space might just allow ἐκεῖ[σε].

4 πολὺ ἄχυρον παραμυγήτω. So in 1734 cattle eat χορτοπάτητον μικτὸν ἀχύρῳ. Cf. χορτάχυρον.

8 εὔωνον. For high and low prices of χορτοπάτημα cf. 2986, 5.

11 κτήσι. The construction would be smoother if Κτήσι as a proper name could be read ('do not give Ctesis his wages'), but no such name is found elsewhere.

13-14 διαταγὴν: cf. 2153, 7 translation and note.

14-15 διὰ τῆς ὄνου...καὶ ἐνὸς: the postscript is ambiguous, and other translations are possible. There is no palaeographic indication that καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ was added as an afterthought.

## 2986. LETTER OF CHAEREMON TO THEON

31 4B. 10/F(1-2)b

13 × 15 cm.

Second/third century

Letter dealing with agricultural matters similar to those of the preceding text, where the same correspondents are involved. Unlike the well-written 2985, this letter exhibits many wrong spellings, in particular frequent substitution of delta for rho.

Written on the back of a sheet cut from a village land survey.

- ↓ Π(αρά) Χαιρήμονος χαίροις κύδιέ μ[ου]  
 Θέων. μάθε ὅτι ἐξεξήτησα  
 ὄλην τὴν Cεντώ καὶ οὐ εὔδον  
 {εὔδον} παδά τινος ἐν τῇ Cεντώ  
 5 μοῦνία δ (δραχμῶν) κδ, καὶ ἦρκα μοῦνία β (δραχμῶν) κ  
 τ[α]ῖς βουσεὶ τῆς Cεντώ· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 χορτοπάτημα ἔχουσι οὐδὲ ἄχυρο(ν)  
 ἐν τῇ Cεντώ, ο(ὐ)δὲ ἐν τῇ Θώλθει χορ-  
 τοπάτημα ἐνεῖ. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ὀρειγέ-  
 10 νους ἐξεξήλθεν καὶ ἐμεμφάμην  
 αὐτὸν ὅτι ὀργίζεται εἰς οἰμᾶς  
 ὁ εὐσχήμεν. προετρεψάμην  
 οὖν αὐτοὺς δῶνε ἡμεῖν μοῦνι-  
 α ιε ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ιζ (ὀβολοῦ). πέμψον μοι οὔν  
 15 εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα κερμάτιον  
 καὶ κρειθὴν εἰς τὴν κατασποδάν.  
 ἐρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι, κύδιε [.] . []

1 π', 1. κύριε 2 l. ἐξεξήτησα 3 l. οὐχ εὔρον 4 l. εὔρον παρά 5 μοῦνία (bis) 6 l.  
 βουσί 7 αχυρῶ 9 υἱός 10 l. ἐξήλθεν 11 l. ὑμᾶς 13 l. δοῦναι, μοῦνία 16 l. κατασποράν  
 17 l. εὔχομαι, κύριε

'From Chaeremon greeting, my lord Theon. Be informed that I searched all Sento and failed to find anyone from whom I could get 4 mouia for 24 dr. I took 2 mouia for 20 dr., for the cattle in

Sento; for they do not have threshed straw or chaff in Sento, and there is no threshed straw in Tholthis. Horigenes's son came out, and I blamed him for the gentleman's being angry with you; so I urged them to give us 15 mouia at 17 dr. 1 ob. So send me the money for the expenditure, plus barley for the sowing. I pray for your health, my lord...'

5 *μουία*: see Reekman, *Account of Hay*, p. 30 and n. 2.

6 *τ[α]ῖς*: or *τ[ο]ῖς*.

9 *ἔνει* = *ἔνεστι*.

12 *ἐὺχῆμων*: P. Petaus 85, introd.

## IX. MINOR DOCUMENTS

**2987.** 34 4B. 78/D(1-3)a. 18.5 × 9.3 cm. c. A.D. 78/9. The correct *nomen* of the prefect C. Aeternius Fronto has recently been established by **2756**; further confirmation is now provided by this fragment from the top of a petition to him. The only other point of interest in this document is the hand, which is large, upright and rounded. In its formality it has affinities to bookhands such as PSI 1280. But the formation of omega in two looped movements, and alpha in one or two movements, is more characteristic of documentary hands. The tall rho with tiny loop and delta with upper projecting stroke are also noteworthy.

<sup>1</sup> Γαίωι Αἰτερνίωι Φρόντωνι <sup>2</sup> ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου <sup>3</sup> παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου Διογένου τῶν <sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ὀξυρυγ- <sup>5</sup> [χείτο]ν. πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἐν Ἀλε- <sup>6</sup> [ξανδρεία .].[.].[± 5 γ]ενόμενος <sup>7</sup> [c. 18]..επι (filler-stroke at end of line). Text broken off below this. Back, → Διογένει γραμ[ματέι?]

**2988.** 15 2B. 43/F(g). 8 × 14 cm. Second century? A fragment from a contract of apprenticeship to a shorthand-writer, closely parallel to **724** (discussed by Wessely, *Arch. für Sten.* LVI (1905) 36, cf. *W. Chr.* 140). 20 lines, broken above and below; the back is blank.

→ (Scanty traces of four lines) <sup>5</sup> ἐν δραχμαῖς τεσσαράκον- <sup>6</sup> τα, τὴν δ[ε] τρίτην <sup>7</sup> λήμψην ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ <sup>8</sup> χρόνου τοῦ παιδὸς <sup>9</sup> γράφοντος καὶ ἀναγει- <sup>10</sup> νόσκοντος ἐκ παντὸς <sup>11</sup> πεζοῦ λόγου, τὰς λοιπὰς <sup>12</sup> δραχμάς ἐξήκοντα. <sup>13</sup> παραμενεῖ δέ σοι μετὰ <sup>14</sup> τὸν χρόνον ὅσας ἐὰν <sup>15</sup> ἀργήσῃ ἡμέρας ἢ μῆ- <sup>16</sup> ρας, μὴ ἐ[ξό]ντος μοι <sup>17</sup> [ε]ντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῶν (scanty traces of three more lines).

9 ff. *γράφοντος* κτλ.: i.e., when the apprentice can take down and read shorthand from any kind of text in ordinary language. *πεζοῦ λόγου* would not in theory exclude plain-style verse (cf. *λέξις πεζή* in this sense in Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 711F cited in the testimonia to Menander, no. 42 ed. Körte (*Bibl. Teubn.* II, p. 9)), but it is the classical prose authors, particularly the orators, who are important to the training system, as is clear from the shorthand Commentary, see Milne's ed., *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, e.g. nos. 502, 520, 639, 754 and 767. More practical aspects are indicated by no. 626, and *κομμάμενός σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν* in Hunt, *Rec. Champollion* (1922), p. 716.

In **724** the order is *ἐκ παντὸς λόγου πεζοῦ*, which caused the first editors of that text to mistranslate the phrase as 'fluently in every respect' instead of e.g. 'from any text in a plain style'.

**2989.** 26 3B. 51/G(2-3)c. (i) 15 × 10.5 cm. (ii) 11.5 × 10.3 cm. Third century. This (registration of, or other declaration concerning a?) sale of land occupies the recto of **2954**.

It is broken, as there explained, between lines 15 and 16. The extent of the loss, if there is one, is uncertain. The supplements at the ends of lines are not always certain and are given *exempli gratia*.

- Παρά Αὐρηλία[ς Ἑλένης] ..[  
πόλεως χ[ωρὶς κ]υρίου χρημ[ατιζούσης κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη τέκνων]  
δ[ι]καίω[ς] {ν} .[.]... παρα....[.]...[  
..[.]...ε..[.]...ε[ c. 12 ]...[ ?συγ-]  
5 χωρεῖ ὁ Αὐρηλιος Δίδυμος[ς ?παρακεχωρηκέ]ναι τ[ὰς πρότερον ὑπαρ-]  
χού[ς]α αὐτῶ καὶ προσυγ[.] [ c. 11 ]τη..[ c. 10 κατὰ]  
πραῶν (πρασειν pap.) γεγυνηῖαν τῶ προδιελθόντι x (ἔτει)?] μηνὶ Π[ - -  
ἀρούρας (τέσσαρας) (ἡμικυ)]  
τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην το(παρχίας) τοῦ [Ὁξ]υβρυ[γχε]ίτου νομ[οῦ καὶ  
ἀπέσχηκεν]  
ὁ Αὐρηλιος Δίδυμος παρὰ τῆς Α[ὐ]ρη[λί]ας Ἑλένης [τὴν τιμὴν κατ'  
ιδιόγρα- ?]  
10 φον πα[ρ]αχωρήσει (1. -ειν?) ἐκ πλήρους. κρατεῖν οὖν καὶ  
[κυριεύει τὴν μὲν]  
Αὐρηλιαν Ἑλένην σὺν ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐ[τῆς μεταλημφομέ-]  
νοισ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων ἡμίσεως .[  
διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν ἔ[αν αἰρήται τρόπον].  
τὸν δὲ Αὐρηλιον Δίδυμον μ[ηδ]εῖν ἐγ[καλεῖν περὶ τούτων μηδ' ἄλλον]  
15 ὑπὲρ (ὑ- pap.) αὐτοῦ μηδ[ε]ν[α] κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον  
(Papyrus broken)  
τ[  
[.]...ης.[  
τη...[ c. 12 ]..[  
ὑδροφυλ[ακίας (ὑ- pap.) ..]...ν[.]...[  
20 δημοσίω[ν] c. 6 ]...[.]...[  
ἔως αὐτοῦ [τοῦ ἐνεστῶ]τος ἔτους [διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος]  
ἔτους τούτ[ων] προ[ό]σφορα εἶν[αι τῆς Αὐρηλίας Ἑλένης c. 4]  
γραφος παρ[α]χωρήσεις (1. -εις?) περι[ c. 23]  
η διαφθαρῆναι μὴ προσδεομ[εν- c. 18]  
25 νης τῇ αὐτῇ διὰ δημοσίου [ c. 15 καὶ τὸν κα-]  
θ' ὀνδηποτοῦν τρόπον ἐπε[λευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποισόμενον]  
τούτων χάριν ἀποστήσει αὐτῶ[ς παραχρημα τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπα-]

νήμασι καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. π[ερὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς κα-]  
λῶς πεπραχθαι ἐπηρώτης[εν ἢ ὠνουμένη, ὠμολόγησεν]  
30 ὁ ἀποδόμην[ο]ς. (vac.)

- 1 π of παρά is written very large and projects into the left margin.  
3 δικάων: the apparent nu is ligatured to the omega, and does not seem intended to begin the next word: presumably, if so, it is a writer's error.  
6 Perhaps προσυγ[κ]ε[χωρημένα] τῇ Αὐρηλία Ἑλένη?  
19-20 I have not managed to identify the traces later in these lines with possible supplements; however, for the general tenor of the formula at this point cf. e.g. 1700.  
23 Cf. lines 9-10? Read [ιδιό]γραφος 22/23?  
29-30 Cf. 1209. 29-30, and PSI 182. 30-2.

2990. 7 1B. 7/C(a). 7.5 × 10 cm. Third century. A scrap preserving two declarations of witnesses from the foot of a certificate of sacrifice. The back is blank. For *libelli* from Oxyrhynchus cf. 658 and 1464; for a general discussion see Knipfing, *HTR* xvi (1923), pp. 345-90. The document is doubtless to be assigned to A.D. 250 despite the loss of the dating clause.

→ <sup>1</sup> [Α]ὐρ(ήλιος) Ἑρακλ[ε]ίδη[ς] <sup>2</sup> εἶδον ὑμᾶς θύοντας <sup>3</sup> καὶ γενομένους.  
<sup>4</sup> (m. 2) Μ(άρκος) Αὐρηλιος (μ' αὐ' pap.) Σεονγῶσις <sup>5</sup> καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω εἶδον  
<sup>6</sup> ὑμᾶς θύοντας καὶ {γε-} <sup>7</sup> γευσαμένους <sup>8</sup> τῶν ἱερείων (ἱερείων pap.).

1-3 These lines are very cursive, faint and abraded but the reading is not really in doubt.  
6-7 Or γεγευσ(α)μένους.

2991. Account. 32 4 B. 3/M(1-2)a. 11 × 8 cm. Third century. A short but complete note of doubtful purpose: four names each followed by a quantity of grain. The back is blank.

→ Ταῦρις Ψόιτος διὰ Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρου (ἀρτ.) υγ  
Ταῦρις Φαουήτος (ἀρτ.) κ (ἡμικυ)  
Ψινταῦρις Παδρ 5 (ἡμ.?) (ἀρτ.) γ (ἡμ.)  
Ψινταῦρις Μώρου (ἀρτ.) β

3 ss' 4 ψινταῦρις

'Tayris daughter of Psois through Alexander, 13 art. Tayris daughter of Phaues, 20½ art. Psintayris son of Paor (6½), 3½ art. Psintayris son of Morus, 2 art.'

3 If ss' stands for 6½, then it is followed by γ (ἡμ.)s', and there is no indication that either figure was meant to correct the other. Psintayris might have paid or been paid 6½ art., of which only 3½ were applied to the purpose of this account. But ss' might stand for ἕκτον ἔτους, a payment for a past sixth year.

**2992.** Order to credit an account. 19 2 B. 75/A(a). 15 × 6 cm. Third century. The back is blank.

↓ <sup>1</sup> Α[ύ]ρη(ι)ος Πτολεμαῖος Ἀυρηλ(ί)ου Ἀγαθίνω χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup> ἀνάλαβε Ἡρᾶτι Ὁρου τ[ο]ῦ (κ)αὶ Διδύμου αἰ (1. τὰς) διὰ Πτολε- <sup>3</sup> μαίου καὶ Διονυσίου ἐν[γ]νητοῦ ἀρτάβας <sup>4</sup> [τρι]άκοντα μίαν. (ἔτους) . Τῦβι κα-

'Aurelius Ptolemaeus to Aurelius Agathinus, greeting. Credit to Heras son of Horus alias Didymus the thirty-one artabas which are being handled by Ptolemaeus and Dionysius guarantor. Year. . . , Tybi 21.'

4 Tybi 21 is 16 January.

**2993.** Undertaking to tend a persea tree. 3 1 B 85/D(9)b. 10 × 13.5 cm. 3 March A.D. 323 (?). Lower half of a contract similar to **2969** and signed by the same persons using the same signatories. **2993** and **2969** are almost certainly fragments from duplicates (ῥα) of a single agreement, as it is very unlikely that these individuals undertook to tend more than one tree and had a separate contract drawn up for each tree in their care. The tentative date of A.D. 323 is taken from **2969**. The body of the contract is written in a different hand from that of **2969**. The signatories' hands are of course the same in both texts. Cf. **2767**, **2994**. The back of **2993** is blank.

→ [π]αντός, ἔτι τε [καὶ τὴν τήρησιν καὶ]  
[π]αραφυλακῆν [τῆς περιβολῆς τῆς]  
ἀνοικοδομ[ῆς τῆς αὐτῆς περσίας]  
[π]οιήσασθαι εἰς [τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψιν]  
5 [ἐπακ]ολουθήσειν ἢ [ἐνοχοι εἴημεν]  
[τ]ῷ θείῳ ὄρκω.  
ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς, Φαμενῶθ ζ.  
(m. 2) Τιμόθεος ἐπιδεδώκαμε[ν]  
'Απίωνος ἔγγραψα ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτ(οῦ) γράμ(ματα)  
10 μὴ εἰδ(ότος). (m. 3) Εὐπορίων ἐπιδεδώ-  
καμεν. (m. 4) Μῶρος ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Ὠ[ρίων]  
ἔγραψα ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτ(οῦ) βεβ(λ)αμμένον τὰς ὄψης.  
(m. 5) οἰκόπεδα Μῶρου ἀνα[γνώ]στ[ου]  
35 ἢ περσία ιζ'

5 1. ἐπακολουθήσειν 8 π in ἐπιδεδώκαμεν corrected from δ 12 υ of βεβλαμμένον corrected from ς, 1. ὄψεις

'... always, and further, that we shall protect and guard the extent of the protective structure(?) of the same persea tree so that no censure may fall upon us. Otherwise may we suffer the consequences of the imperial oath. The same consulship, Phamenoth 7.

(2nd hand) 'Submitted by me, Timotheus, I, . . . , son of Apion (?), have written on his behalf, as he is illiterate. (3rd hand) Submitted by me, Euporion. (4th hand) Submitted by me, Morus. I, Horion, have written on his behalf, as his eyes have been injured.

(5th hand) 'Building sites belonging to Morus, reader. The persea tree. 17th.'

1-3 Cf. **2969**, 15-17, with notes to lines 16-17.

7 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς. Probably A.D. 323. Cf. **2969**, 1.

8 Cf. **2969**, 18 with note.

13-14 Cf. **2969**, 23 f. with notes.

13 ἀνα[γνώ]στ[ου]: or ἀνα[γνώ]στ(ου).

**2994.** Undertaking to tend a persea tree. 3 1 B. 85/D(10)a. 4 × 6.5 cm. Early fourth century. Cf. **2767**, **2969**, **2993**. The back is blank.

→ <sup>1</sup> τ[ῶ]ν δεσπ[ο]τῶ[ν] ἡμῶν] <sup>2</sup> [ἀν]ικήτων βασιλέω[ν] πᾶσαν] <sup>3</sup> [ἐπι]μέλειαν καὶ ὑπηρ[εσίαν] <sup>4</sup> [καὶ το]ῦς συνήθεις ποτ[ι]σμῶν] <sup>5</sup> ἀδιαλίπτως ἐπ[α]ν[α]γκε[ς] <sup>6</sup> ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἐκ μ[ε]ζονος] <sup>7</sup> προστάξεως νεω[στ]ῆ κατα-] <sup>8</sup> [τεθείκη]ς περσίας πρ[ὸ]ς τοῖς] <sup>9</sup> [ἡμετέροις] οἴκοις ἐπὶ τοῦ [.....] <sup>10</sup> [.....] πρὸς τὸ ζωογον[εῖν] <sup>11</sup> [καὶ εὐ]θαλεῖν, ἔτι: διὰ παντός (cf. **2767**, 18; **2969**, 14-15; **2993**, 1) cannot be read after εὐ]θαλεῖν

**2995.** Tax receipt. 2 1 B. 106/D(a). 28 × 13 cm. Sixth century. Receipt of two solidi from Flavius Dorotheus for δημόσια for the Hermopolite village of Kirka. Dorotheus is perhaps to be identified with the ἔκδικος Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως of the same name known from BGU IV 1094 (A.D. 525). The money is probably a payment of arrears. Sixth-century δημόσια were ordinarily paid in three instalments within the indiction for which they were due (Rouillard, *Administration civile*, p. 93); but the present text deals with a single sum paid for the previous indiction, and this sum is described as ὀφειλόμενον (l. 2). The back is blank.

→ <sup>1</sup> Φλαουίω Δωροθέω τῷ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ καὶ ἔλλογιμ(ωτάτῳ) χολ(αστικῷ) υἱῷ (υἱῶ, pap.) τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μηνῆος <sup>2</sup> Θεοδώρου Φίβις νομικὸς καὶ τρακτ(επτής) (τρακτ, pap.). δέδωκες (l. δέδωκα) τὸν ὀφειλόμενον ἐξ ἔθους <sup>3</sup> παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν (ὑμων) ἔλλογι(μόστητος) χρυσικὸν δημόσιον τῇ Κιρκᾷ ὑπ(ἐρ) (ϑ, pap.) δημοσίων δεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ἰνδ/, pap.), <sup>4</sup> τοῦτ' ἔστιν χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο, καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς πεποίημαι <sup>5</sup> τὴν ἀποχὴν ὀλόγραφον χειρὶ ἐμῇ. ἐγράφη Θῶθ η ια (ια) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ἰνδ/, pap.).

'To Flavius Dorotheus, most glorious and notable advocate, son of Theodorus of excellent memory, Phibis, notary and agent. You have paid the tax in gold which is customarily due from your

notability for Kirka, for the public dues of the tenth indiction; that is, two gold solidi. And for your notability's security I have prepared the receipt written wholly by my own hand. Written on 8 Thoth, 11th indiction.'

1 *εὐδοκμιωτάτω*: not among the epithets of scholastici listed by A. Claus, 'O *Χολαστικός* (Diss. Köln, 1965), 20 ff.

2 *τρακτ(εντή)ς*: for the role of *tractatores* in collecting taxes in the Byzantine period see Rouillard, pp. 93 ff.; A. H. M. Jones, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, III, p. 118; P. Lond. v 1753, 3 n.

*ὀφειλόμενον κτλ.*: this phrasing seems not to be found elsewhere. For the possibility that it indicates payment of arrears, cf. introduction. Less probably it may simply be equivalent to *εἰς λόγον οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κιρκᾶ*.

5 Thoth 8 = 5 September.

## X. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

2996. Letter from Anthestianus to Psois, first published by E. Constantinides, *CdE* XLIV (1969), pp. 101-5. On *σημείον* (l. 34) see now H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* VI (1970), pp. 105-16. 26 3B. 49/H(5-6)a. 7.5 × 29.7 cm. Second century?

→ 1 Ἀνθε[ς]τιανὸ[ς] Ψούτι 2 κεραμεῖ χαίρειν. 3 καὶ πρῶην μὲν πάλιν 4 ἔπεμψα  
πρὸς σὲ Ἐαρα- 5 πάμμωνα ὅπως ἤδη 6 ποτὲ τὰ προσημαρτημέ- 7 να σοι καὶ  
ἄπαξ καὶ δεύτε- 8 ρον διορθώσῃ καὶ ἀποδοῦ- 9 ναί σε ἅς ὀφείλεις ὑπὲρ 10 τε  
λοιπῆς τιμῆς ἀχύρου 11 καὶ μισθοῦ κτηνῶν με- 12 ταφορᾶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀχύρου  
13 καὶ ὁμοίως μεταφορᾶς 14 χο[ῶ]ς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος 15 δραχμὰς ἑπτακοσίας,  
16 κ[αὶ] ὁμοίω[ς] ἅς ἔλαβες 17 [παρ'] Ὀρείωνος τοῦ κερα- 18 [μέ]ως σοῦ παρα-  
μενογ- 19 [±4]. ς. π[ρ]οῦ ἀρτάβας 20 [±9] τῶ πρώτῳ ἔτει 21 [±6] ἑτα[...]  
ερμα[...]. 22 [±4] ντος[...]. 23 [±6] χεσι[...]. 24 [±6] ἄλλας  
δραχμὰς[...]. 25 [±5] κοντα καὶ οἴνου [..]. 26 [..]. 27 [..]. 28 [..]. 29 [..].  
30 [..]. 31 [..]. 32 [..]. 33 [..]. 34 [..]. 35 [..]. 36 [..]. 37 [..]. 38 [..]. 39 [..].  
40 [..]. 41 [..]. 42 [..]. 43 [..]. 44 [..]. 45 [..]. 46 [..]. 47 [..].

30 ἀλλ' 33 ἔν 40 ἔνα

'Anthestianus to Psois the potter, greetings.

Just recently I sent Sarapammon to you again so that you would finally straighten your accounts, which you have previously time and again failed to do, and pay back what you owe for the remaining cost of the chaff and for the hire of animals for the transportation of said chaff and likewise of earth, for the present (a sum of) 700 drachmas; likewise the... artabas of wheat which you received [from] Horion the potter... the first year... [3 lines]... another fifty (?) drachmas and of wine... four chous. And so, obstructing the work again, you left and took no account of Sarapammon but told him, "Make an allowance for me now, since I have come from abroad with my pitch. (I write this) so that you may know the proof (that I know all about the affair)." Therefore, I was obliged to ask my friend Dionysius to demand from you what you owe or for you to give it to him in jars. I also wrote to Sarapammon to go again to you so that you will not continue to quarrel insolently, dis-regarding my demand and making excuses. But comply without fail, lest I take other measures in your case and summon you through the nomophylax (?). . .'

2997. Petition about a fire. 29 4 B. 63/A(1-3)a. 8.5 × 33.5 cm. 12 July A.D. 214. This petition was first published by E. Constantinides in *BASP* VI (1969), pp. 55-8.

It was submitted by Horion, phrontistes of the estate of Claudia Isidora *alias* Apia, to Aurelius Anubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite; it concerns a fire which destroyed parts of an irrigating machine near the village of Toka. The document clearly belongs to the Archive of Claudia Isidora, for which see 2566, 6 n. and ed. pr. 4n.

→ <sup>1</sup> Αὐρηλίω Ἀνουβίωνι στρατηγῶ Ὁξ(υρρυγχείτου) <sup>2</sup> π[αρ]ὰ Ὁρίωνος Σερήνου ἀπ' Ὁξυρύν- <sup>3</sup> χων πόλεως φροντιστοῦ <sup>4</sup> Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας <sup>5</sup> καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει. περὶ Πειεννῶ <sup>6</sup> πλησίον ὄντος Τόκα κώμης <sup>7</sup> νυκτὶ τῇ π[ρ]ο[ς]διελθούσῃ βο- <sup>8</sup> ῆς γενομένης πρὸς ἣν εὐθέ- <sup>9</sup> ως ἐκπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς τῆς Τό- <sup>10</sup> κα δημοσίοις καὶ ἐκεῖσε γενόμε- <sup>11</sup> γοι εὐρομον (1. -μεν) τῆς μηχανῆς <sup>12</sup> [τ]ρὸς ἐργάτας ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀδι- <sup>13</sup> κηθέντας τέλεον καὶ βοηθή- <sup>14</sup> σαντες κατεσβέσαμεν τὸ <sup>15</sup> πῦρ. ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομι (1. -ωμι) τὸ βι- <sup>16</sup> βλίδιον ἀξιῶν εἶναι αὐτὸ <sup>17</sup> ἐν καταχωρικῶ μὴ ἄρα <sup>18</sup> τι ὕστερον ἀναφανῆ. <sup>19</sup> (ἔτους) κβ Αὐτοκράτορος <sup>20</sup> Καίσαρ[ο]ς Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου <sup>21</sup> Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίου <sup>22</sup> Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ <sup>23</sup> Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου <sup>24</sup> Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπειφ ἱ. <sup>25</sup> (m. 2) Ὁρίων Σερήνου ἐπιδέδωκα.

<sup>4</sup> ἰσιδώρας <sup>22</sup> 1. Βρετανικοῦ

Ἐπιτοῦ Aurelius Anubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Horion, son of Serenus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, caretaker for Claudia Isidora, also called Apia, and however else she is known. In the area of Peēnno which is near the village of Toka, on the night before last when a cry was heard, I rushed immediately towards it with the officials of Toka, and when we arrived there we found the cog-wheels (?) of the machine completely damaged by fire: and going to the rescue, we put out the fire. Therefore, I submit this report, asking to have it placed in the registry, in case something should be discovered in the future.

In the 22nd year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus. Epeiph 18.

(2nd hand) 'I, Horion, son of Serenus, have submitted (this).'

5-6 The first editor punctuated after *χρηματίζει*, and took *περὶ Πειεννῶ κτλ.* with what follows. Dr J. D. Thomas has since suggested that the stop should come after *κώμης*; *περὶ Πειεννῶ κτλ.* then describes the geographical area for which the phrontistes was responsible; cf. 1578. 2, 475. 16.

**2998.** Sale of a camel. 15 2 B. 40/G(c). 9 × 11.3 cm. Late third century. This sale was first published by J. F. Callender, *BASP* VII (1970), pp. 7 f.; the reader is referred to his discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Αὐρηλίος Ζωῖλος Θεώνος γυμνασίαρχος <sup>2</sup> βουλευτῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ- (προτάτης) Ὁξυρύν- <sup>3</sup> χειτῶν πόλεως καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζω) Αὐρη- <sup>4</sup> λίω Κοπρηῆ Πασιότιος μη(τρὸς) Ἑλένης ἀ- <sup>5</sup> πὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. <sup>6</sup> πέπρακά σοι κάμηλόν μου ἄρσενα <sup>7</sup> μελανόχροον, ἔχοντα χαρακτῆρα <sup>8</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους τοῦ τραχήλου <sup>9</sup> ἰσὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ χελύνω ζ, τιμῆς <sup>10</sup> τῆς συμπεφωνημένης πρὸ[ς] <sup>11</sup> ἀλλήλους ἀργηρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομί- <sup>12</sup> ματος ταλάντων δύο, ἄπερ αὐτόθι <sup>13</sup> ἀπέ-

σχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ <sup>14</sup> πλήρους. τὸν δ' αὐτὸν κάμηλον [ . . . ] <sup>15</sup> ἐντεῦθεν παρείληφας παρ' ἐμοῦ <sup>16</sup> ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τοῦτον τοιοῦτον <sup>17</sup> ἀναπόρριφογ καὶ ἀνεπιλημπτον . . . .

1 ζωῖλος 2 f. οξυρύν'χειτων

'Aurelius Zoilus, son of Theon, gymnasiarch and councillor of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, and however I am styled, to Aurelius Copres, son of Pastois, mother Helen, of the same city, greetings.

'I have sold you my camel, a black male, with the letters *isi* on the right side of the neck and *z* on the jaw, for the price agreed upon between us of two talents of imperial silver coinage, which I received from hand to hand on the spot in full payment. And you have taken over the said camel therewith from me in the said city, this one, just as it is, not repudiable nor subject to seizure. . . .'

9 ζ is perhaps for Ζωῖλος, see P. Basel 2 introd. p. 15. If so, ἰσ̄ may be for a previous owner Isidorus.

## INDEXES

An asterisk signifies that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets, sometimes with the further addition of a query mark, indicate that a word is substantially restored. Round brackets indicate that a word is expanded from a short abbreviation or a symbol. Words completely restored, i.e. of which no portion is extant in the text, are not indexed; nor is the article.

## I. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS AND THEOLOGICAL TEXT

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CAVA WANDIOO

COORPAINAK

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ΓΛΙΩΝ ΧΙΤΕΝΙΩΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΙ  
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